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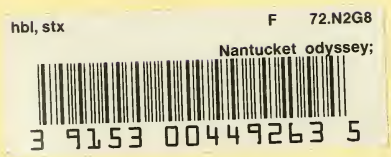

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NANTUCKET ODYSSEY

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A JOURNEY INTO THE HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

BY

EMIL FREDERICK GUBA, PhD.

Emil Frederick Guba

WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS
1951

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To the Memory of My Mother

BERTHA KUPLENT GUBA
1874-1950

this book is most affectionately dedicated

7/3/67

PREFACE

There is a voluminous literature on Nantucket. However, this volume has been written to give you a factual and straightforward acquaintance with the origin, growth, prosperity and decline of this island and its people, and the rediscovery of the place by summer visitors. For emphasis and variety the episodes are supplemented with numerous poems and quotations.

The forefathers came bent upon building an industry on whale oil. The industry flourished until man's ingenuity found something better and cheaper in petroleum. If you climb the walks on Nantucket, explore the historical centers, and survey what was built on the wealth of the oil of the harpooned whale brought here from all the oceans of the world, you will become inspired with great enthusiasm for the place and those who made it.

The story of Nantucket and its people is the story of the growth of America, of adventure, hardship and toil, human sacrifice, and free enterprise in a friendly, unostentatious society The spirit of peace and restfulness still pervades the island, but the odor and industry of whale oil are gone.

The writer was attracted to Nantucket to explore its fascinating fungous flora and by an organized interest there in the island's natural science. The old landmarks, the narrow streets and the old houses of weathered gray shingles prompted him to inquire into its past. He was inquisitive, but he never intended to neglect his Nantucket botany to write this patchwork quilt of episodes of the island and its former people. Nevertheless it happened.

"There's a spell in Nantucket well known to bewitch,
Which exerts the same charm o'er the poor and the rich;

If you go to the Island you'll quickly learn why
When you look at her moorlands, her shores, and her sky;
And you'll say that you love her if never before
When the wild breakers dash in their might on the shore.
O thou lovely Nantucket, fair Isle of the sea!
With sweetest of memories my thoughts turn to thee."

From "The Magic of Nantucket" by I. H. Folger

Use of the facilities of the Boston Public Library, Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Archives, Massachusetts State Library, New Bedford Free Public Library, and the Waltham Public Library is gratefully acknowledged.

I am especially indebted to the large family of Nantucket writers and to the Nantucket Historical Association for their admirable and vast literature of the island. I add this volume to their industry and accomplishment.

E. F. G.

WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS
August 15, 1951

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. Guba first visited Nantucket some sixteen years ago for a purely routine scientific study of fungi. In the process he was seduced by the subtle spell with which the Island enfolds her children, those born to her and those who adopt her. Though neither he nor any other of her votaries will ever be able to weave that spell into words, he has made a propitiatory offering by contributing to the knowledge of the history of the people and the changing scenes of their activities. He has traced them through the first difficult years, to the rise and zenith of prosperity, through the decline, and to the present resurgence.

Most of the fundamental facts are not new, of course, but such topics as the early connections with the Vineyard and its Indian preachers, the "battle" between the half-share men and the full-share men, and the history of education, are treated probably more fully than they have been heretofore. The confusing subject of the shares in the common and undivided land has been rather skimmed over, which is as well, for no one so far has written of it with satisfying authority, and the subject is sufficiently muddy already.

Controversy will arise over the date of construction and first location of the Congregational Vestry, but what has been undoubtedly an unintentional error carried on by tradition and in good faith, should now be corrected on the basis of Dr. Guba's findings, for his documentation is good.

The subject of emigrations during the 18th and 19th centuries never has had much attention outside of an occasional paper before the Historical Association. Now most of it has been gathered together and made into one story, in order that it may take its proper place in the perspective of Island history. On this it had a very important impact, since most of those who moved away were possessed of the robust

pioneering and independent spirit of early New England. That is not to imply that only the dregs remained behind, because there are, to this day, many Nantucketers fully worthy of the inheritance of their forefathers. Yet certainly much of the cream must have been lost and with it much of the drive which carried the house flags of Starbuck, Coffin, Macy, Folger, and the rest throughout the Seven Seas.

Whether the reader knows Nantucket or whether he is delving into his first acquaintance with her, he will find much to absorb him in the following pages; he will find both history and guide, covering all the essentials, yet not too long spun out. Some authors spend a few weeks on Island, then produce books which contain a little flotsam and jetsam, but mostly froth; the present volume has been written by a man who for years has read deeply of his subject and gone to the sources.

CHARLES P. KIMBALL

BARNSTABLE, MASSACHUSETTS
August 4, 1951

NANTUCKET ODYSSEY

Chapter 1.

THE NANTUCKET LEGEND

Nantucket is the Indian word for 'the land far off at sea." Some historians assert that it signifies "it is heard" or "it is sounding", referring to the roar of the surf; others that it means "the place of the hills." The old records and maps reveal considerable variation in the name, such as Nantuckett, Nantuckit, Neutocket, Nantoe, Nantae, Nantuchet, Nantuckitt, Nantuckket, Natucket, Nantukked, Nantuckkut, Nantukes, Natocks, Nantocket, Natocke, Natacei, Nantock, Nantoket, Nantockyte, Nautican, and Nantakei. Common usage has accepted the name Nantucket, and this appears to be the best translation of Indian into good English.

Nantucket prospered on whaling except for the interruptions and damaging blows from the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and finally the Civil War. It came to rank third to Boston and Salem as a commercial port. Daniel Webster, who appeared professionally on the island in 1835, fittingly called it the "Unknown City in the Ocean." To the captains and crews of its whaling vessels it was the "Little Gray Lady," the welcoming town of weathered gray-shingled houses. Those were Nantucket's "palmy days," and her inhabitants point with pride and enthusiasm to that "golden age" of prosperity and maritime success. They were her oily days. All her industries flourished around the central one of oil. The whaling business was the life of the place. The production of sperm candles reached 380 tons annually. The language of the Nantucketers was a nautical dialect. Virtually, they cared for nothing, thought of nothing, knew nothing except whaling.

The queenly capital seat of the island remains an old-fashioned town of narrow streets and gray-shingled houses,

rich in history, odd to the traveler, a sapphire anchored in the ocean on the way to Europe. The architecture of the houses, "95 percent perfect," the doorways opening on the narrow cobblestone alleys and streets, and the old burial grounds remind us of the long past. Nantucket is unspoiled and refreshing. Every breeze and every fog and storm comes from the ocean. The odor of whale oil is gone, also the cooper shops, but the old houses and dignified mansions built by oil all stand. Here the artist, the antiquarian, the historian, and the naturalist feel thoroughly at ease. You are no longer in the world; you are on another planet. Here are no malaria, intense heat, or hay fever to trouble the traveler in search of rest or recreation. You relax and forget the hustle and bustle of business and continental life. The visitor invariably returns and becomes an annual pilgrim to "the far away island."

Take out your map and look at it. There it is anchored in the ocean in a quiet corner of the world, long and low like a giant whale with her little whales by her side, Tuckernuck, Muskeget, and the Gravelly Islands. This is "The Far Away Island," "The Land Far Out at Sea," "The Glacier's Gift"; a blot of sand, ponds and moors "where summer is five Septembers long"; a "lamp chop" of 30,000 acres dumped into the ocean south of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and peopled by Indians long before its discovery by the adventurous navigators of the Old World. No other domain of the United States along the eastern coast line is so far from the mainland. None has had more recognition, none is more dearly cherished, none so charming and alluring.

One of the tutelary divinities of the Nantucket Indians was Moshup, a monster giant who now and then made Cape Cod his bed. He waded the ocean sounds around him and made his chief abode at what was known as Devil's Den at Gay Head, Martha's Vineyard. Here he broiled whales on fires made of the largest trees (there were none on Nantucket) which he pulled up by the roots. The cooked flesh and oil were distributed among the hungry natives. The

bones of the whales and the coals of the fires may still be seen in the quaint and picturesque geological formations at Gay Head.

This legendary giant is credited with the origin of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. One sleepless, restless night on Cape Cod, his moccasins filled with sand. Becoming enraged, he flung them from his feet, both falling nearby into the ocean to build the islands. After establishing his residence at Devil's Den, in a similar exciting spell he metamorphosed his five children into fishes and threw his wife over on Seaconnet Point near Newport, Rhode Island, where she was changed to stone. There she remains, a misshapen rock.

Indian legend also ascribes the origin of Nantucket to Moshup's pipe full of ashes. Moshup emptied his pipe after a thoughtful smoke on Martha's Vineyard and the wind carried the ashes out to sea, to the eastward, where they settled to form a picturesque, rolling island. This legend explains the origin of the derisive name, "The Devil's Ash Heap" which Nantucket has been jocosely called by an occasional envious historian among its neighbors with a sense of greater importance of his own small island.

Some believe that the first Nantucket Indian was borne with his dog on a cake of ice from the mainland. Another legend describes a monster bird that was wont to sweep down upon the Indian settlements along Cape Cod and to carry away the Indian infants in its talons over the ocean to the south. The grief stricken parents, seeing their child borne out of sight, followed in their canoe in the same direction where they came upon the strange island and the skeletons of many babies. This discovery led to an exodus of Indians to the island.

There are numerous other legends about Nantucket, Moshup and the Indians, but they seem too fantastic and incredible for repetition here.

It has been written that the Nantucket Indians were inclined to be warlike; those of Martha's Vineyard, peaceful.

Legend describes a feud existing between the tribes of the east and west portions of Nantucket over the boundary line dividing the territories of the tribes, which ceased in 1630 and long before the arrival of the white settlers by the courtship of a maiden princess of one tribe and the son of the ruler of the other. The island was divided into the territories of Sachems Potconet, Autopscot, Wauwinet and Wanackmamack and inhabited by about seven hundred Indians.

Chapter 2.

SALE OF NANTUCKET TO A WATERTOWN MERCHANT

By the charter and grant to William Alexander, Earl of Stirling in 1635 and by decree of King Charles I, Long Island and the adjacent islands belonged to the Earl of Stirling. In 1641 the name of Nantucket appeared in the deed granted to Thomas Mayhew, his son and associates, by James Forret, agent for William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. For this title, Mayhew paid 40 pounds. By the charter and grant to Sir Ferdinando Gorges by King Charles I on April 3, 1639, Nautican Island belonged to Gorges. Both Lord Stirling and Ferdinando Gorges shared in the division of the territory of the Council for the Affairs of New England or Plymouth Company which was organized in Plymouth, England, November 3, 1621. King James I in the charter to this company, dated November 23, 1621, granted it all the territory in America between the 40th and 50th parallels not already settled, which included the islands south of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Subsequently, the claims of each were conflicting.

To secure his patent to the islands, Mayhew paid Richard Vines, agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Lord Proprietor of Maine, an undisclosed sum of money. As the result of the combined purchases from Alexander and Gorges represented in the execution of three deeds, two from Forret, one from Vines, dated October 13, 23, and 25, 1641, Thomas Mayhew, Puritan Watertown merchant and his son, Thomas, Jr., acquired 16 islands south of Cape Cod comprising Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands. Stirling, according to documents, had no legal claim to any of these islands, and Thomas Mayhew always held that his best title was derived from Gorges. Up until September 27, 1666,

Nantucket was regarded as a part of the Province of Maine. Richard Nicolls was the first Governor General of the newly captured province of New Netherlands in 1665. Nicolls acknowledged to Mayhew, "that the power of these islands was proper in ye hands of Ferdinando Gorges," and as late as 1668 he regarded the Province of Maine as the legal authority over the island of Nantucket. As late as March 13, 1677, Nantucket was included in the deed of Maine to John Usher by Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

In 1663, the Earl of Clarendon purchased for his son-in-law, James, the Duke of York and Albany, the pretentions of Henry, the fourth Earl of Stirling, to his territories in America, and on March 12, 1664, his brother, King Charles II granted to him the patent of New York, Maine, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and other islands. This James ruled England as King James II from 1685 to 1688. These transactions were made possible by the acquisition of New Amsterdam and the Province of New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664. But Nicolls did nothing to enforce the Duke's claim to the islands south of Cape Cod. The confusion in the claims to these islands was anticipated, and Mayhew was determined to secure his right by purchasing the patents of both Stirling and Gorges. In this way he acted wisely.

In 1642 the first white settlement was established at Great Harbor, Martha's Vineyard, by a small band of planters under the leadership of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., then 21 years of age and the only son. He acted as Governor until the arrival of the senior patentee approximately in 1645. In this group was one Captain Humphrey Atherton, who might be considered the first white person to graze sheep on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, receiving authority in August 24, 1654, strange as it may seem, from the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The use of the west end of Nantucket as a pasturage for Vineyard cattle was discontinued in June 1667, when the Vineyard people were notified to remove all their beasts within two months under penalty of forfeiture of five shillings a month for each one remaining.

Chapter 3.

PURCHASE BY A COMPANY OF SALISBURY SETTLERS

Having acquired the islands by rightful conveyance from the English Crown, it was Mayhew's desire to settle them. Tristram Coffin and a band of Salisbury planters were seeking a new settlement modelled upon a mutual and equitable proprietorship of the land, apportioning it into commons of pasture and tillage. After suitable investigation by Tristram Coffin and others assisted by Peter Folger in the summer of 1659, a company of nine men, friends, neighbors, and relatives was organized at Salisbury, and the purchase of nine-tenths of the island from Governor Thomas Mayhew was authorized. The price was thirty pounds and two beaver hats. The "beaver" was the fashionable top hat in Europe and America, and so stable was a beaver skin in value that the Hudson Bay Company issued brass coins as a counterpart.

Mayhew retained one-tenth of the island for himself and that part called Quaise. The company of purchasers comprised Tristram Coffin, Sr., Thomas Macy, Richard Swain, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swain, and William Pike. The first meeting of the proprietors was held at Salisbury in February 1659. They met again on July 2, 1659, to organize and to take ten partners, one to each proprietor. These were John Smith, Nathaniel Starbuck, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Look, Robert Barnard, James Coffin, Robert Pike, Tristram Coffin, Jr., and Thomas Coleman. Thomas Mayhew, Jr. was named as the partner of Thomas Mayhew, Sr. These were known as the Twenty First Purchasers in the subsequent records of Nantucket. At this Salisbury meeting, it was agreed to

have ten other partners or craftsmen who would own one-half as much land as the first purchasers. The last proprietors' meeting at Salisbury took place on May 10, 1661.

What the Salisbury company of men bought from Governor Mayhew was his rights to Nantucket together with the title from the proper Indian Sachem. Although Mayhew's titles to the islands descended from the English Crown, he regarded them merely as his exclusive right of ownership among the English. The Indian occupants were the owners, and Mayhew sold only the right to the European settlers to obtain title from the rightful Indian Sachem. On June 21, 1659, Mayhew obtained a conveyance of the title to Nantucket from the Indians and with the "sachem rights" secured he was able to sell the island, the sale being made on July 2, 1659. In the same year Tuckernuck Island, containing about 100 acres, was acquired from Mayhew by Tristram Coffin and his sons, Peter, James and Tristram, Jr., for the sum of six pounds, and in 1661 they bought the Indian rights. Thus in the sale of two islands, Tuckernuck and nine-tenths of Nantucket, by which Mayhew realized thirty six pounds and two beaver hats, he practically recovered his investment of forty pounds in the sixteen islands south of Cape Cod. At first the Indians sold all of their land except a southerly strip including Miacomet Pond. Eventually all of the rights to the island were secured by the company of proprietors by purchase and donations from the Indians.

Chapter 4.

EXODUS TO NANTUCKET

Thomas and Sarah Macy and their five children arrived in the fall of 1659. Incidentally, Thomas Mayhew, Sr. and Thomas Macy were cousins. Accompanying the Macys from Salisbury in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were Edward Starbuck, Isaac Coleman, an orphan aged twelve years, and James Coffin, aged eighteen years. These were the pioneer settlers. Nothing is known of that historic voyage except that they stopped at Great Harbor (Edgartown) for comfort and further direction, and to take on one Dagget to pilot them on their voyage to (Maticat) Madaket.

The circumstances underlying the emigrations to Nantucket are well described in G. H. Folger's "Musings."*

"Our Pilgrim fathers forth were driven
By persecution's rod,
And sought this isle among the waves,
Where they could worship God.

When Autumn's clouds lowered in the sky,
Old Thomas dared the sea,
With Edward nobly by his side,
They'd die or they'd be free."

Macy was determined to relocate his homeland and to separate from his Salisbury associations and the tyranny of Puritan dress, custom, and clergy. During the anxious, perilous moments of that historic voyage in the Macy pinnace, Sarah begged Thomas to turn back. Macy retorted,

*From *Seaweeds from the Seashores of Nantucket,* edited by Lucy Coffin Starbuck, 1853.

"Woman, go below and seek thy God. I fear not the witches on earth nor the devils in hell." He had set his course for a new untried land and a new social order.

The Macy children were Sarah, thirteen years, Mary, eleven years, Bethia, nine years, Thomas, Jr., six years, and John, four years. The care of the children on this historic voyage required all of the vigilance of their devoted mother. The Macys had left a prosperous homeland to seek a new lease on life in an untried land inhabited by Indians, with winter near at hand. In a little hut at Madaket, they spent their first winter. Here they found the Indians peacefully disciplined, kind and hospitable, and under the control of their head sachems. The welcome extended by the venerable Wannackmamack proved him to be the true friend of the white emigrants.

Chapter 5.

MOTIVES FOR THE REMOVALS TO NANTUCKET

Starbuck returned to Dover the following spring to report, and in the summer of 1660 he came back to Nantucket with ten more families. What motivated these families to leave their homeland in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and to establish another on a barren, strange, far away island? Were they dissatisfied, and what were the factors which encouraged them to remove to this remote, barren island? Silvy, "po'r ole lady of color," the "mammy of Tuckernuck," in response to that stirring question exclaimed, "Dat ar's jes what no man can find out. Oh de length an' de bredfh of it, an' de ways ob de Lord is pars findin' out."

Then, Nantucket was a sand bank. Not even weeds would grow here. Wood for fuel was as precious and respected as bits of the true Cross in Rome. There were no trees large enough for architectural timber, no timber for building, and no soil for agriculture. Vegetation was limited to an occasional mushroom. Some of the proprietors became discouraged and withdrew from the project. William Pike withdrew and conveyed his interest to Nathaniel Boulter, who then deeded one-half to John Bishop and the other half to William, ten years, Mary, six years, Ann, four years, and Martha Bunker, two years, the four of five children of the deceased George Bunker. The mother, Jane Godfrey Bunker, subsequently married Richard Swain of Rowley.

Others chose to remain to make history. They were Tristram Coffin, Sr., John Swain, Sr., husband of Mary Weir and the only son to accompany his father, Richard Swain, to Nantucket, Thomas Macy, Robert Barnard, James Coffin, Thomas Coleman, Edward Starbuck, and Nathaniel Starbuck. The settlers established themselves on the north side

of the island close to Great Harbor or Edgartown and to Mayhew's company of planters to which retreat was possible or from whom help could be obtained in the event of trouble with the Indians. Capaum Pond situated inside of the north shore of the island then was open to the sea and afforded a small harbor. It was completely closed during a furious storm in 1722.

The area about Maxcey's Pond, then known as Wyer's Pond, about the north end of Hummock Pond, was the cradle site of the settlement. Here on the hill adjoining the north end of Hummock Pond, Nathaniel and Mary Coffin Starbuck built their residence. The Nantucket Monthly Meeting or Quakerism on Nantucket was born in the living room of this house in 1708. It was located near a spring, a few feet west of the site of the Cornish barn. Not far away and to the east of Maxcey's Pond the forefathers established the site of the first public cemetery. Within a stone's throw, and to the southeast of this ancient public burial ground, is the site of the first Friends Burial Ground. Just south of the Friends Cemetery stands the Elihu Coleman house built in 1722 and now the only solitary dwelling to mark the cradle site of the primitive settlement of Sherburne.

A. Religious Persecution

The real purpose of the removals of the Salisbury settlers is not clearly established. One school of thought regarded these first families as Separatists of non-conforming belief which in the early history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was a serious breach of the ecclesiastic code. For fifty years after the arrival of the first settlers there is no record of any organized religion on Nantucket. The first organized worship was conducted by the Society of Friends, which in the early history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was persecuted and forbidden.

These people came with the Puritan migration to the New World from England to live and to worship God as they pleased. The Puritans, however, compelled people to be re-

ligious, and they upheld the union of church and state. No food or lodging could be given a Quaker, Adamite or other heretic. No one was allowed to run or walk on the Sabbath, except to and from church. No one could sweep, cook, travel, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath. No woman should kiss her husband or children on Fast Day or Sunday. Only the Puritans held the right to vote. The Puritan code permitted no flexibility in thought or expression, and the non-conformers soon became the targets of religious persecution. Those who refused to worship according to the English prayer book were ordered back to England.

Some of the settlers were Baptists who held that baptism was a ceremony that should be sought by the free choice of the candidate. Thomas Macy, a Baptist, was fined for sheltering Quakers in his home in Salisbury. Richard Swain also "entertayned Quakers." These Quakers were hanged in Boston in December 1659 "in the name of the Lord." Also, in 1658, Macy violated church discipline by preaching without a permit. Joseph Peaseley, Robert Pike, Christopher Hussey, and John Bishop were disciplined for espousing the practice of public speaking without license. Edward Starbuck, an elder in the Salisbury church, was suitably fined for publicly expressing his views on baptism. Dionis and Tristram Coffin kept a public house at Newbury. Dionis was charged with the offense of selling bad beer, but on suitable evidence to the contrary, she was discharged. Her "pub" consequently became distinguished as the place where the best beer was sold because the testimony revealed that she put six bushels of malt into the hogshead. The law stated, "every person licensed to keep an ordinary, shall always be provided with good wholesome beer of four bushels of malt to the hogshead which he shall not sell above 2 pence the ale quart on penalty of forty shillings the first offense and for the second offense shall lose his license".

Apparently these people were an uneasy, disfavored group and irksome to the Puritan majority. Some years before (1636), another group of "uneasy people" under the leader-

ship of Roger Williams founded the colony of Rhode Island. Another group under Thomas Hooker from Cambridge and Watertown founded Hartford, which became the beginnings of Connecticut.

The removals from Salisbury to Nantucket on the grounds of religious intolerance and persecution makes a good story. It is asserted that under the jurisdiction of the Province of New York, the settlers on Nantucket could enjoy a more liberal rule. However, the story of new jurisdiction to permit a happier society is erroneous because Nantucket and the adjacent islands were not absorbed into the English province of New York until 1664 with the capture of New Amsterdam and New Netherlands from the Dutch. In fact, the claims of New York to Nantucket were not enforced until 1668 with the arrival of the second governor, Colonel Francis Lovelace. Nantucket was still a part of the Province of Maine. The agreement of Thomas Mayhew binding him to pay a tax to Gorges and Sterling was not settled until June 1671 when Governor Lovelace issued a new patent to the Nantucket proprietors and recognized Mayhew's claim to the islands, founded on Sterling's patent, but only after a lot of "stumbling" and" "faking." Gorges' pretensions were not accepted.

These emigrants from Essex County are memorialized in John Greenleaf Whittier's legendary poem, "The Exiles," which portrays Macy's escape from the sheriff after having been detected in the act of harboring Quakers:

"Far round the bleak and stormy Cape,
The venturous Macy passed,
And on Nantucket's native isle
Drew up his boat at last.

And how, in log-built cabin,
They braved the rough sea weather;
And there, in peace and quietness,
Went down life's vale together.

How others drew around them,
And how their fishing sped,
Until to every wind of heaven,
Nantucket's sails were spread.

How pale Want alternated
With Plenty's golden smile,
Behold, is it not written
In the annals of the isle?

And yet that isle remaineth
A refuge of the free,
As when true-hearted Macy
Beheld it from the sea.

God bless the sea-beat island!
And grant forevermore
That charity and freedom dwell
As now upon her shore."

This version of the emigration to Nantucket by the Quaker poet of Haverhill is denied by most historians. Some of the first settlers on Nantucket, even those involved in infractions of the law and the Puritan code, returned to their Salisbury homeland to settle their affairs and for long visits. Without the oppressive spirit of Puritanic laws, without intolerance of religious opinions, and without Indian warfare Nantucket was indeed "plenty's golden smile" and a "refuge of the free."

Macy did not navigate his voyage "far round the bleak and stormy Cape." He followed the main passage laid down through the town of Eastham, Orleans and Chatham, which was used in early colonial times by small vessels in voyages from Maine to Connecticut and Virginia. This natural passage through Cape Cod, called "Jeremy's Dream" and "Jeremiah Gutter," is shown on the early Dutch and French charts, and on the map constructed by a British hydrograph-

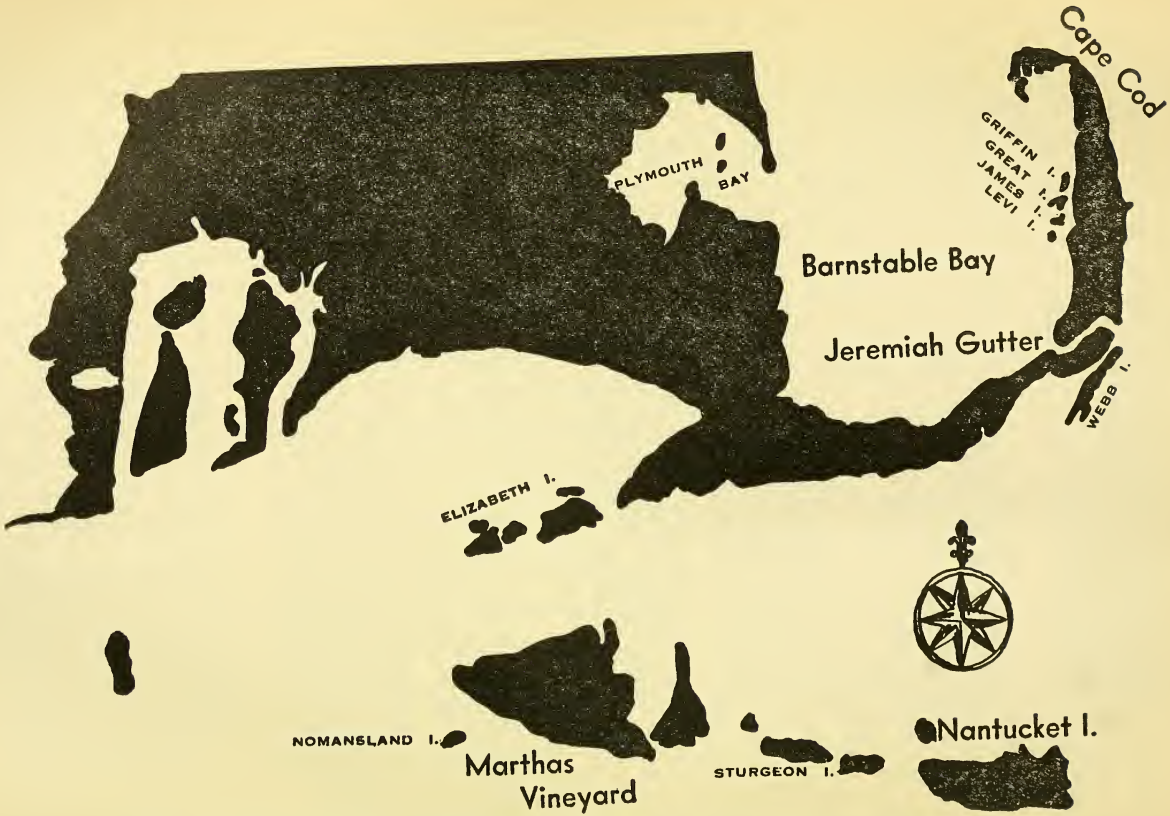


Figure 1. Portion of the Sea of New England showing "Jeremiah Gutter" or "Jeremy's Dream", the passage through Cape Cod used in early Colonial times by small vessels in voyages from Maine to Connecticut and Virginia. (From an early map in the British Record Office, London).

ical survey party around the years 1715-1720. The passage was closed around 1740 during a furious gale of wind attended by a tidal wave.

B. The Whale Fishery

These people were essentially traders, mechanics, and business men. It is reasonable to believe that they were interested in the whale fishery. Whales then had a high commercial value. "The new Plymouth colony made great profit by Whale Killing," wrote Secretary Randolph in 1664. The pursuit of whales by the Indians along the New England coast is described in the record of Captain Waymouth's voyage in 1605. "One especial thing is their manner of killing the whale." (They) "strike him with a bone made in fashion of a harping iron fastened to a rope, which they make great and strong of the bark of trees."

When Thomas Mayhew, Jr., and his company of planters arrived at Great Harbor in 1642, they found the Indians catching whales offshore in canoes and seizing those cast up by the sea. Here the whaling industry was pioneered by the American Indian. When Governor Mayhew bought "Chickemmoo"* from the rightful Sachem, in 1658, he acquired with the land "four spans round in the middle of every whale that comes upon the shore of this quarter part and no more." The Indian "powdawe" or whale oil was used in the preparation of Indian dishes of peas, maize, and other pulse when the English explorers arrived in the first decade of the 17th century. In the sales or conveyances of land beached whales were included in the title. For details the reader is referred to an entry in Registry of Nantucket Deeds, June 20, 1672, giving Ahkeiman use of land on Nantucket and a portion of the whales in settlement or exchange of the rights to Tuckernuck Island, which he inherited from his father Potconet, a Tuckernuck sachem. Whales, those royal mammals of the sea, represented wealth, and the English Crown recognized

*Chickemmoo, a weir or fishing place, now a portion of land between Lambert's Cove and the west head of Tashmoo Pond, Martha's Vineyard.

it. British law gave to the Crown a share in every whale cast up by the sea.

"A tenth branch of the king's ordinary revenue, said to be grounded on the consideration of his guarding and protecting the seas from pirates and robbers, is the right to *royal* fish, which are whale and sturgeon. And these, when either thrown ashore or caught near the coast, are the property of the king." (Sir William Blackstone)

Thus the ownership and division of the whales became the subject of many disputes between the whites and the Indians. Whale catching on Long Island, Martha's Vineyard, and Cape Cod was apparently more firmly established, and so in 1672 the town of Nantucket drafted its agreement with James Loper of Salem to engage him to teach the design of whale "citching" on the island. In 1690 the Nantucketers employed Ichabod Paddock of Cape Cod to instruct them in the art of killing whales and extracting the oil. The rivalry for supremacy in whaling developed among the different settlements. Whaling was Nantucket's opportunity in the field of commercial enterprise. On July 5, 1673, the Dutch ship Exportation, bound from New York to Holland, loaded with 90 barrels of whale oil, and tobacco, longwood, and cowhides, was wrecked abreast of Siasconset. Whale oil was already an important article in the colonial export trade.

With an extemporized harpoon the Nantucketers captured a scrag whale in 1668. Shore whaling began in 1673. By 1676 whale houses were being operated along the shore line at Miacomet Pond. Whales were spotted from lookouts on shore. The primitive business seemed well organized in 1690, and then in 1712 the adventurous Christopher Hussey captured a sperm whale on a short voyage off shore, which gave a new turn to the industry. Vessels of thirty tons burden called sloops were fitted for deep sea whaling, there being six such vessels in 1715. In 1720 the first sperm oil was shipped to England via Boston. The settlers looking to the sea remarked, "There are the green pastures in which our children's children will find their bread." Was it the

whale and the wealth it offered that induced the Salisbury colonists to remove to Nantucket?

C. A Landed Aristocracy

An equally creditable story to explain the settlement of the chosen island was the desire to promote a model kingdom of land owners or landed aristocracy, copied after the English system in which only the proprietors or stockholders would have the right to vote. Tristram Coffin was loyally devoted to this plan. Similarly, Thomas Mayhew came to Martha's Vineyard intent upon a feudal lordship and to found a family of landed magnates and to better his financial condition. The intention of the leaders of the settlement to establish on Nantucket a landed gentry like that in England was revealed in later years when the families divided into insurrectionary factions.

Nantucket was not adapted to farming, and it was not forested. Here were 30,000 acres of island, of which some 1050 acres were ponds and 750 acres peat swamps, a heap of glacial drift with a coast line of seventy-five miles. The soil was sandy, and there was no wood worthy of notice. The climate was temperate and healthy but marked by frequent, very unpleasant storms. These were the conditions confronting the settlers. "They found the island so universally barren and so unfit for cultivation that they mutually agreed not to divide it, as each could neither live on nor improve that lot which might fall to his share." After more than one hundred years of tillage, corn yielded an average of twelve bushels to the acre; rye, six bushels to the acre; and oats, fourteen bushels to the acre. Certainly the situation must have been apparent to those who investigated the island. If not, the settlers became aware of it after their arrival. Circumstances compelled them to turn to the sea for their livelihood. Here they found an abundant source of food, a commercial enterprise, and a potential source of great wealth. The romance of the sea offered far more allurement than the pastoral occupation of farming.

Chapter 6.

NANTUCKET INDIANS UNDER MAYHEW

Here upon their arrival the settlers found some seven hundred Christian Indians peacefully disciplined and under the religious teaching and influence of the Mayhews and Hiacoomes, pastor of an Indian church on Martha's Vineyard. As far back as 1642, when Thomas Mayhew, Jr. and his company of planters came to Great Harbor, religious meetings were established among the Indians. On Nantucket, John Gibbs and Joseph, Samuel and Caleb are also on record as Indian teachers. Harvard College at Cambridge was the seat of learning in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Joel, son of Hiacoomes, and another Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck were sent to Harvard College from Great Harbor "to become learned and able preachers unto their countrymen." Joel especially was a very promising Indian. Caleb was in the Harvard College graduating class of 1665. Joel would have graduated had he not been murdered for plunder in 1664 by a savage element of the Nantucket Indians on his return voyage from Great Harbor whence he had gone between semesters to visit his family. His murderers were found and executed in 1665, but the event proved a great loss to the cause of Christian work among the Indians. Caleb died of tuberculosis within a year after graduation.

In 1664 the Indians had six places of worship on Nantucket. In 1666 there was an Indian Chuch under John Gibbs. By 1674 it is recorded that there were about three hundred devout Indian communicants on the island, young and old, and meeting houses at Miacomet, Polpis, and Occawa. In 1695 there were three churches for Indians and five assemblies of praying Indians. The services were Presbyterian in form.

When their meeting was concluded, the Indians would take their tinder-box, strike fire, light their pipes, draw three or four whiffs, swallow the smoke, and then blow it out of their noses; first one would smoke and then hand the pipe to his nearest neighbor. One pipe of tobacco would serve ten or a dozen of them, and they would say "Tawpoot," which is "I thank ye." It seemed to be done in a way of kindness to each other.

The influence of the Mayhews in this missionary work among the Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard Indians was a bright chapter in the history of Indian settlements in the Colonies. With such a Christian influence the Indians remained peaceful and tolerant. The interest of the white colonists in the welfare of the Indians created a reciprocal interest in the whites, for in 1665 we find that Attychat, son-in-law of Sachem Wauwinnit, declared the allegiance of his people to the English Crown.

Indian villages were located at Occawa in the area near Siasconset, at the northern extremity of Miacomet Pond, at the western side of Squam Pond at a place known as Apapachonsett, near Shawkemo south of Abram's Point and north of Shimmo. Here in this latter place is believed to be an Indian burying ground. In 1700 there were Indian villages at Sachacha and at Pedee.

In 1657, and before the acquisition of Nantucket by the Coffins, Hussey, Swain, and all the rest, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., at the age of thirty-six years, set sail for England to give an account of the state of the Indians and to solicit help for the further advancement of religion among them. His ship was lost with all hands. This tragedy left entirely to his father, at the age of sixty-four years, the direction of the Indian missions on the islands in addition to his responsibility as Governor of the colony. This loss might readily have contributed to negotiations which led to the sale of Nantucket two years thence.

Thomas Mayhew, Sr., acquired the islands to found a manorial system of land tenure and to better his financial con-

dition. He was attracted to the pitiful, unfortunate lot of the Indian, and every action of his long life was spent in bettering their spiritual and material welfare. He received greater respect and devotion from the Indians than probably any other European missionary leader in the American Colonies. The Indians at Martha's Vineyard showed the same admiration for Peter Folger, who ably assisted Mayhew in teaching them the Scriptures, reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Chapter 7.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROPRIETORS

At the organization meetings at Salisbury the need for craftsmen to assist in the development of the Nantucket settlement was recognized, and accordingly 14 men were attracted to the project. The Coleman family was asked to join because of their experience with sheep. Peter Folger, who had been teaching the Martha's Vineyard Indians reading, writing, and the catechism, came over as a joiner, miller, interpreter, and surveyor; Eleazer Folger, his son, joined as a shoemaker and blacksmith. Thomas Macy came as weaver; Joseph and Richard Gardner, as shoemakers; Samuel Streeter, as tailor, Nathaniel Wyer, as farmer, and William Worth, Joseph Coleman, John Gardner and Nathaniel Holland joined as seamen. John Bishop from Newbury was invited as a carpenter; after acquiring one half share he bought one half of William Pike's proprietorship but then decided to withdraw. The tradesmen were offered each one half share of ownership, and in addition to the twenty whole share owners there were then 27 shares or parts in which the island common land was held with the exception of Quaise, which was retained by the Mayhew family.

At the first meeting of the proprietors residing on Nantucket in July 15, 1661, it was agreed that each man should choose his house lot and that each house lot would comprise 60 square rods of land to a whole share. Tristram Coffin was honored to make the first selection, and he chose a site at the head of Cappamet Harbor (Capaum Pond). Edward Starbuck selected a spot near Cambridge (north head of Hummuck Pond), and Thomas Macy established in the vicinity of Reed Pond, called Watercomet or the Pondfield. Peter Folger, who settled in 1663, was allotted one-half share

of land at a site known as Roger's Field, the area just outside of town traversed by the Madaket Road. These were the homestead set-offs of the various families, and they represented the only territorial property allotted. The remainder of the island was kept as an open pasture held in common among all of the proprietors. Each man's share in the common land at the outset was 720 Sheep's Commons, each signifying as much land or Sheep's Common as would furnish pasturage for a sheep estimated originally at one and one half acres.

The qualification of a voter was presented "as a resident who was a freeholder." Religion was not a factor. Orginally there were twenty-seven proprietors and 19,440 sheep commons, and as each represented 1½ acres, there were approximately 29,000 acres of available common land.

According to later accounts (1790) each proprietor was entitled to 560 sheep, and four geese equalled one sheep, eight sheep represented one cow; and two cows equalled one horse. This was the method used for enjoying in common this new pastoral settlement. The number of proprietors increased by sales of shares and inheritance so that many could claim only a portion of a share. In 1792 the properties varied from 1 to 1400 Sheep's Commons rights. Then there were nearly 500 proprietors. Godfrey (*The Island of Nantucket,* 1882) and Douglas-Lithgow (*Nantucket,* 1914) stated that at that early period the person who owned, for example, 45/19,440 of the common land (there were 19,400 sheep commons) would also be owner of 45/720 of a share in the divisions as they were successively laid out, designated "dividend lands." Examples of such divisions were Squam, Southeast Quarter and Smooth Hummocks.

Chapter 8.

A POLL OF EARLY INHABITANTS

From several significant incidents occurring in the early history of the settlement, it is possible to identify most of the families comprising the population. Such incidents as the drawng of lots for the homesteads in July 1661; the sheep owners; and the people involved in the salvage of the wreck of a French vessel in 1678, are helpful in compiling a list of the adult male inhabitants between 1659 and 1678. These were:

Nathaniel Barnard
Robert Barnard
Thomas Barnard
Samuel Bickford
John Bishop
William Bunker
Thomas Carr
Edward Cartwright
John Challenge
James Coffin
John Coffin
Peter Coffin
Tristram Coffin, Sr.
Tristram Coffin, Jr.
Stephen Coffin
Isaac Coleman
John Coleman
Joseph Coleman
Thomas Coleman
Tobias Coleman
Edward Cotter
Eleazer Folger
John Folger
Peter Folger
John Gardner
Joseph Gardner
Richard Gardner
William Gayer
Nathaniel Holland
Christopher Hussey
John Hussey
Stephen Hussey
Moses Knapp
Thomas Look
John Macy
Thomas Macy
Richard Pinkham
Robert Pike
William Rogers
John Rolfe
Nathaniel Starbuck
Edward Starbuck

Samuel Streeter
John Swain, Sr.
John Swain, Jr.
Richard Swain
Thomas Tray
John Trott
William Vaughn
William Worth
Nathaniel Wyer

Also the record of deaths up to the year 1700 helps to identify the first families. These are as follows:

Arey, Richard. November 19, 1669.

Austin, Joseph. Second husband of Sarah Starbuck, widow of William Storey (d. of Edward and Catherine Reynolds Starbuck).

Barnard, Bethia, wife of John. Drowned crossing from Martha's Vineyard, June 6, 1669. Daughter of Peter Folger and Mary Morrill.

Barnard, John, husband of Bethia Folger. Drowned with his wife, June 6, 1669.

Barnard, Robert. Husband of Joanna Harvey. 1682.

Brown, John. Son of John and Sarah Walker. August 29, 1683.

Brown, John. Husband of Sarah Walker. February 28, 1685.

Brown, Sarah. Wife of John. September 6, 1672.

Bunker, Daniel. Son of William and Mary Macy. 1691.

Coffin, Love Gardner. Wife of James Coffin, Jr. 1691.

Coffin, Peter, Jr. Husband of Elizabeth Starbuck. November 1699.

Coffin, Tristram. Husband of Dionis Stevens. October 2, 1681.

Coleman, Isaac. Son of Thomas and Susanna. Drowned with the Barnards in the crossing from Martha's Vineyard. June 6, 1669.

Coleman, Joseph. Husband of Ann Bunker. April 1690.

Coleman, Thomas. Husband of Susanna; husband of Mary, widow of Edmund Johnson; husband of Margery Fowler (Osgood) (Rowell) 1682.

Cottle, Dorothy. Wife of Edward. October 1, 1681.

Folger, Peter. Husband of Mary Morrill. 1690.
Gardner, Mary Starbuck, first wife of James (son of Richard). First child born of English settlers on Nantucket. 1696.
Gardner, Richard. Husband of Sarah Shattuck. January 23, 1688.
Gayer, Dorcas Starbuck. First wife of William. August 1696.
Macy, John. Husband of Deborah Gardner. October 14, 1691.
Macy, Thomas, Jr. Son of Thomas and Sarah Hopcot. December 3, 1675.
Macy, Thomas. Husband of Sarah Hopcot. April 19, 1682.
Roby, Elizabeth Philbrick. Widow of John Garland, widow of Thomas Chase, third wife of Henry. February 11, 1677.
Starbuck, Edward. Husband of Catherine Reynolds. December 4, 1690.
Starbuck, Jethro. May 27, 1663.
Swain, Richard, Sr. Husband of Jane Godfrey Bunker. April 14, 1682.
Wyer, Nathaniel, Sr. Husband of Sarah. March 1, 1680.

Those were the people who comprised the settlement for the most part in the first decades of its history, and many of them, and their sons and daughters, were identified with prominent events in the civil and spiritual affairs of the island. Not a stone or record of any kind exists to identify the site of their remains.

Chapter 9.

DEGRADATION OF THE INDIANS

The hospitality of the Indians was a blessing, but their association with the whites became their misfortune. They were amazed at the effect of firearms by which more birds could be killed in a day than they could destroy with arrows in a month. They were astonished by the method of plowing with a plow share. But their commerce with the whites led to the corruption of their morals. The introduction of spirits among them added to their misery. They imitated to an extreme the manners and poisonous intemperance of the whites. The Indians became troublesome after they had learned to drink rum. Early court records refer to trials, convictions, and sentences of Indians to be whipped for intoxication and for petty larcencies, and to fines imposed on white men and women for selling rum to the Indians. Although the first General Court for Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard enacted laws prohibiting sales of intoxicating liquor to the Indians, the whites frequently violated the law for love of gain. It is recorded that a half barrel of rum belonging to Captain John Gardner was seized by Chief Magistrate Thomas Macy in 1676 apparently for violating the law.

"Tooth" Harry and "Jo" Bones, Indians, were tried and convicted for breaking windows in Thomas Bunker's house and stealing eight gallons of precious rum, and it was the sentence of the court "that Tooth Harry and Jo Bones shall be branded in forehead with the letter B and shall pay to Thomas Bunker £7-7s-6d and for other court charges 16s-6d." They were both branded with the letter B according to the sentence. So troublesome at times were the Indians that the whites appointed the Indian James Skouel called Kadooda

to adjudge their cases. His method required before starting the hearing that both parties be soundly flogged, a procedure spoken of at the time as "Kadooda law". For their delinquent and obstinate boys the Indians practiced "medomhumar," which today would be regarded as a most inhumane form of juvenile punishment. A water extract of the bark of bay berry root was squirted into the nose passages as the boy was held firmly on the ground on his back, and this was repeated twice or thrice until the boy was nearly strangled.

Disputes arose over the division of whales cast upon the beach. Stealing from the whites was a frequent occurrence and annoyance. The records of the settlement for the first hundred years, 1664-1774, reveal land sales to whites, Indian complaints against each other and against the whites, and numerous attempts on the part of Indians as late as 1754 to regain their lands. Feeling the lack of justice in Nantucket courts, they tried in vain to have their claims tried in Boston. They lost their land by conveying title in the legal manner of the English whites, and when it became understood by them that their conveyances deprived them of trespass, fishing, hunting, and the use of land for planting, it caused bitter feeling. The whites came to a land occupied by Indians, and they were welcomed. Before too long the Indians became their wards.

In 1665 the young settlement was stirred to excitement by the arrival of King Philip. Although entertaining no claim to the land of Nantucket, rather only authority over certain Indians who had escaped to the island from the mainland, he came to slay them for speaking ill of King Philip's father, Massasoit. The Indians were concealed by the whites. Only a heavy ransom paid by the settlers persuaded King Philip to abandon the objects of his search.

Among those sought was John Gibbs, who was educated at Harvard College and later became a preacher to an Indian church on Nantucket. King Philip's invasion of Nantucket and his policy in the matter were in accordance with an old Indian law. It must not be overlooked that the Sachem of

Mt. Hop resented the allegiance of the Nantucket Indians to his Royal Highness, King Charles II. His visit to Nantucket may have had the more important purpose of restoring the loyalty of the Nantucket Indians to their kindred on the mainland, and to secure the help of the Indians in their war against the European intruders upon their domain. The Nantucket Indians were, in the period around 1665, treated kindly, provided with food, farming implements, and clothing. The trouble resulting from the occupancy of the Indian domain on the mainland by the colonists, which led to King Philip's War, did not develop on Nantucket until after the turn of the century and long after King Philip had been subdued and slain on August 13, 1676. On Nantucket, disputes between the Indians and the whites went no further than court actions in which the Indians were usually the losers. In nearby Dartmouth on the mainland (1675) every settler who had not been killed in King Philip's War was back in the shelter of Plymouth.

In the process of time the Indians became thievish, negligent, irresponsible, and slothful. A contagious malady, either yellow fever, typhoid, or smallpox, to which the whites were only mildly susceptible, resulted in an epidemic among them beginning on the 16th day of the 8th month in 1763, and when it was over on the 16th day of the 2nd month 1764, less than one-third of them survived. Their numbers were reduced from 358 to 136. Two hundred and twenty-two died; thirty-two were sick and recovered; thirty-six who lived among the Indians escaped the illness; eight lived on the west end of the island, not among the villages, and escaped the disease; eighteen were at sea and survived; forty lived with the English whites and did not acquire the disease. The Indians became too few to rule or disturb. In 1792 there were four males and sixteen females; in 1809 there were three or four pure blooded Indians and a few of mixed race. The last full blooded Indian, Dorcas Honorable, Benjamin Tashma's granddaughter by his daughter Sarah, died in 1822. Abram Api Quary, the last man of Indian blood, died

in 1854 at the age of 84 years (Starbuck, *History of Nantucket,* 1924, says 82 years, 10 months). With the death of native remnants of a once populous and primitive race, the Nantucket Indian passed into the realm of people who are no more. Folger has portrayed his hospitality and his fate in the following lines from "Musings":

Great Wa-nack-ma-mack here did dwell,
This side of Ok-a-wah;
A brave old Sachem, mild in peace,
But terrible in war.

In Squam lived Sachem Nickanoose;
And on Pops-quatchet hills,
The famous warrior, Autopscot,
Where stand our peaceful mills.

In Nature's simple charity,
They stretched the open hand,
When, fugitives from Christian hate,
Our fathers sought this land.

They oped to them their choicest stores,
Bestowed on them their lands,
Tasted their poison and disease,
And perished at their hands.

The site of their remains is a mystery as are the burial grounds and scattered graves. Have you seen the grave of Benjamin Tashma and his daughter Manta, who lie side by side with their heads pointing to the west in the circular burying ground of the tribe near the head waters of Lake Miacomet and near the site of the old shearing pens? The little grassy hillocks piled over their graves were still visible and undisturbed by the hand of desecration when J. C. Hart saw and wrote of them in 1834 (*Miriam Coffin or The Whale Fisherman*). There are many other small hillocks here in

a bushy area of two to three acres that mark the graves of many of those who died in the Indian sickness in 1773. Other burial grounds are believed to be in the neighborhood of Shawkemo, Pocomo, Folger's Hill on the Polpis Road, and at Quaise.

According to Obed Macy (*History of Nantucket,* 1835) the Indians lived all over the island in frail shelters. They were a people of weak intellect, irreligious and prone to vice, intemperance, and immorality. The use of intoxicating liquor (strong waters of hell) brought distress and death among them. Often the effect of the poison would cause them to drop by the wayside on their way back to their habitations. Exposed to the inclemency of the weather, sometimes they died there and were buried where they were found. On May 9, 1676, Thomas Macy wrote Governor Lovelace concerning his apprehension of the Indians if strong drink was permitted to be sold them and requested an order prohibiting vessels coming into the harbor from selling strong drink to the Indians. Wrote Macy in concluding his strong representation of the situation, "For my own part I have been to the utmost opposed to the trade these thirty eight years, and I verily believe it has been the only ground for the present ruin to both nations. It has kept the Indians from civility, and they have been drunken and kept all the while like wild bears and wolves in the wilderness." Their indebtedness to the whites caused them to go whaling to pay back "their masters" as they called them. Under the Mayhews the Indians received encouragement and good management, and had it not been for the indiscretion of some of the English in furnishing them with rum, they would undoubtedly have remained industrious, co-operative, and of much service, for many of the Indians were good whalemen, seemingly religious and of good and regular habits.

Chapter 10.

FIRST BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Before the winter of 1662-1663 had passed a mist of joy and suspense fell upon the toiling settlement. Among privation, cold, and want a child was born on March 30, 1663, to Nathaniel and Mary Coffin Starbuck. This was their first child, and they named her Mary. She was the first child born of English parents on Nantucket. Then, more than a year later, on September 1, 1664, the first boy was born, John Swain, Jr., son of John and Mary Wyer Swain. This first Nantucket son became the husband of Experience Folger, daughter of Peter Folger and Mary Morrill, and thus a first uncle to Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

But the year 1662 had nearly passed away when on October 31 the death of Jane Godfrey Bunker Swain cast a gloom over the little settlement. Jane and George Bunker settled in Topsfield, and here George was accidentally drowned in May 1658 while crossing a stream with his team. Surviving him were his wife Jane and five children, Elizabeth 12, William 10, Mary 6, Ann 4, and Martha 1½ years. In 1659 Jane married Richard Swain of Rowley, father of five children, among them being one John Swain. They removed to Nantucket to share in the fortunes of the new settlement. With them came John and the Bunker children. It was as if death had entered every Nantucket shelter, and especially was it sad for her orphaned children. All that was mortal of Jane Bunker was laid under her own doorsill, not upon the hillside later consecrated as the burial ground for the first dead. Richard died in April 1682, surviving his wife Jane by twenty years.

Then on the 27th of May, 1663, Jethro Starbuck, aged 12 years, was killed when run over by a cart. He was the son

of Edward and Catherine Reynolds Starbuck and the brother of the noble Nathaniel, the eldest son. This was the second death on Nantucket. On September 16, 1663, a son was added to the family of Peter Coffin and Abigail Starbuck, and out of respect for their deceased brother they named him Jethro. Jethro's marriage to a fair Gardner in 1686 played an important part in the reconciliation of the Coffin and Gardner families, which since 1673 were separated into two bitter opposing factions.

Mary Starbuck, the "Virginia Dare," of the Nantucket settlement became the wife of James Gardner, son of Richard. She passed away at the tender age of 33 years (1696) leaving six children. James married three more times, and each time a widow.

On June 6, 1669, John Barnard, his wife Bethia, Isaac Coleman, and an Indian were drowned while crossing in a canoe from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket. This was the same Isaac who 10 years previously accompanied the Macys on that historic voyage from Salisbury to Nantucket. Eleazer Folger, also among the party from the Vineyard, clung to the canoe and drifted to a shallow shoal. With a plowshare he bailed out the water and escaped. Sorrow hung over the settlement.

These were some of the first incidents of sorrow which visited this Nantucket family of settlers and which multiplied as the population grew in number.

Chapter 11.

THE POPULATION EXPANDS AND BECOMES SELF-GOVERNING

Many of the children of the first settlers were born in Old England, some in Salisbury, Amesbury, Dover, Haverhill, and adjoining towns; the others were born on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. The settlement required growth, industry, and a larger population. The marriage of William Worth and Sarah Macy in 1665 was the first solemnized on Nantucket. Peter and Mary Morill Folger with their nine children came in 1663 after the share holders had voted Peter and his son Eleazer two half-shares of land. The news of his acceptance was received with joy, as his large family would increase their numbers considerably. Peter was everything to Nantucket. He was the most useful man on the island and a godly, learned Englishman. One Martha's Vineyard historian would have us believe that Peter Folger was invited to leave Great Harbor because of his liberal religious views. His removal to Nantucket, in about 1663, was Nantucket's gain, and it is difficult to conceive of Nantucket as an advancing prosperous settlement without the notable contributions of Peter and the later Folgers. Peter came to Boston on October 8, 1635, with his father John, his mother Merraba Gibbs, and his sister. John Folger died in 1660, and his remains lie somewhere at Great Harbor.

Richard Gardner and Sarah Shattuck came to Nantucket in 1666. There is no better confirmation of his arrival on Nantucket than the inscription on a silverplate on Richard Gardner's cane which reads, "Richard Gardner came to Nantucket in 1666." They had ten children. John Gardner came in 1672 with Priscilla Grafton, also with a large family of twelve children. Fourteen children were born to James Cof-

fin and Mary Severance. There were 8 children born to Stephen Hussey and Martha Bunker; nine to John Swain and Mary Wyer. John Macy, son of Thomas, married Deborah Gardner, daughter of Richard. He was the only one left to bequeath the name of Macy to posterity. It seems almost incredible that from one solitary individual there could have sprung so many Macys belonging to the island. Another later John Macy, husband of Bethiah Cartwright and husband of Phebe Macy, lived to be 90 years, 8 months of age (deceased Nov. 23, 1839). He was the father of 19 children, of which eleven, 37 grandchildren, and 47 great grandchildren survived him.

Tristram and Dionis Stevens Coffin were the parents of 9 children and grandparents to 74. They were the seed of a mighty brood of Coffins. In 1728 Tristram Coffin's posterity numbered 1,582 of whom 1,128 were living. The name now is legion. The name Tristram has been carried along in all the generations of descendants. The name Dionis, his consort, has appeared only rarely among the descendants. One grandchild, eldest daughter of Stephen Coffin, was christened Dionis, but upon her marriage to Jacob Norton the name appeared as Dinah. The name seemed more appropriate for the steam locomotive that hauled the passenger trains of the Nantucket Railroad in a much later era, first to Surfside (1881), then to Siasconset (1884). The origin of the name is not understood, unless it is derived from Dionysus, son of Zeus, who in Greek mythology was originally a God of Vegetation; later the God and Giver of the Grape and its Wine, and identified with Bacchus. Or, rather, it is the diminutive of Dionysia, often written Dionys.

In 1671 Nantucket became a distinct enfranchised township with the issuance of a new patent from Governor Francis Lovelace dated June 28. In 1672 the town government was established in its present location near the middle of the north side of the island with its harbor lying on the east, at a place then called Wesko, which in the Indian language signified "The White Stone." This large white stone

of quartz lay by the side of the harbor and is now covered by the Straight Wharf. After civil government was organized, the town was given the name of Sherburne in 1673. The name was provided by Captain John Gardner after the name of the ancestral home of his family in Sherborne, Dorsetshire, England. The Nantucket Sherburne has also appeared as "Sharborn", in the records. In 1678 Wesko was laid out in five divisions, each 8 x 80 rods with streets and highways. Each division contained 4 lots, each 2 rods wide.

But the new charter with its form of government precipitated strife and insurrection which lasted for seven long years, from 1673 to 1680. The families split into two opposing factions led by Tristram Coffin and John Gardner, and thus the co-partnership of kinsfolk conceived to provide a common interest in the general prosperity now seemed destined to collapse.

Chapter 12.

BEGINNING OF CIVIL STRIFE

Upon the incorporation of the town and the institution of civil government, Tristram Coffin was commissioned Chief Magistrate of Nantucket and Tuckernuck Island by Colonel Francis Lovelace, a cavalier of the Court of Charles II and another ducal favorite. Lovelace became the second governor of the province of New York in 1668. Thomas Mayhew at the same time was made, at the age of 78 years, the Governor of Martha's Vineyard. The meeting with Lovelace was attended by Thomas Mayhew and his grandson, Matthew Mayhew, the latter representing the proprietary interests of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., deceased; Tristram Coffin, representing the "house of Coffin" and Thomas Macy, representing "ye inhabitants of ye towne of Nantucket."

In the first sitting of the General Court at Edgartown in June 1672, a body of just, sensible laws was established. At the second sitting of the General Court at Nantucket in 1673, the judges refused to follow the rules of procedure provided at the Lovelace conference. Protest to the provincial government was in vain, for in July 1673, the Dutch had regained possession of New Amsterdam and held it until October 1674. Differences between the Dutch and British were adjusted in 1674, and New Amsterdam was again acquired by the British, and Major Sir Edmund Andros became the third Governor General to his Royal Highness James, the Duke of York, holding office from 1674 to 1683. The Gardners obtained control of the government. Richard Gardner became the Captain of Militia. A new charter favorable to the resident free holders was inaugurated; all prior deeds to island lands derived from Thomas Mayhew were dissolved, and claims of land were changed to date from the Lovelace

charter. Absentee ownership of land was dissolved. This was a blow to Thomas Mayhew and the non-resident Coffins (Peter, James and Tristram, Jr.) and other original proprietors and absentee landlords (Greenleaf, Pike, Hussey and Smith) who had invested their wealth in the islands. Mayhew complained bitterly: "Noe man had a right to a foot of land before date of last charter, and they by the Book endeavor to dethrone our libertys, announcing my right obtained from the Earle of Stirlinge nothing, also the Indian Right nothing, my quiett occupation there of 29 years nothing, the grounding of the ten partners upon my first graunt nothing."

A. Coffin and Gardner Factions

The rebellion at Nantucket was a contest between the first purchasers known as whole share holders headed by Tristram Coffin and half share holders headed by John Gardner. The Coffin faction was supported by Governor Thomas Mayhew. Tristram Coffin favored a land owner's aristocracy, a manorial system, and the rule of the few. He claimed the right to vote on the shares of his two sons who never lived on the island. He wanted two votes for the full share owners and one vote for the half share owners. The restriction of suffrage was current in the government of that day. Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony defended it in these words: "The best part is always the least, and of that least part the wiser part is always the lesser." Tristram stood for conservatism. Historians have marked him as a feudal lord aspiring to introduce on Nantucket a land owner's aristocracy patterned after the British system. The Gardners and free holders fought to abolish the distinction of whole and half shares. The purpose was to confiscate the idle lands of the proprietors without compensation and revert them to common lands in which the half share men held an interest. The Gardner faction demanded rule by all landowners and a single vote for each individual, but they never thought of conferring suffrage on those inhabitants who

were not land owners. Their branch of democracy hardly went far enough although some historians regard the Gardners as representing the general welfare of all of the inhabitants. Since the Gardners were in control of the Nantucket courts, there was no way for the whole shares men to bring them to account. The leaders of the factions went to New York. John Gardner and Peter Folger represented the half shares men, and Tristram Coffin and Matthew Mayhew the whole shares party, and after four days of conferences with Andros the island lost some of its autonomy in local government. Mayhew's patent to the islands was respected, and ownership of land by non-residents was retained providing the properties were improved.

B. Deflection of Macy and Intrusion of Peter Coffin

But the complexion of politics changed. In 1676 two votes switched to the Coffin faction. Thomas Macy, one of the few whole share men and affiliated with the Gardner faction, was made Chief Magistrate. At the end of his term of office, Governor General Andros for some unknown reason did not commission a new magistrate. Trouble developed when it was voted to continue Macy in office. The whole share men, by the deflection of Macy and his son-in-law William Worth, won control of the government. Turmoil ensued because opinion was divided on whether Macy under the circumstances could continue in office. It was permissible, however, in accordance with the rules of the provincial government at New York. More serious circumstances arose when Peter Coffin, an off-islander and absentee owner from Boston and Deputy of the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in Boston, was chosen Assistant Magistrate although legally he could not serve. This aroused the ire of Folger and the half share owners.

C. Peter Folger's Refusal

Peter Folger as Clerk of Court refused to make any entries of court actions or to give up possession of the court

records. He was indicted for contempt of court and for refusing to speak when presented to the court. This man, the most useful craftsman on Nantucket, on February 14, 1677, failing to find a bondsman, was imprisoned in a sty which was then the town prison. He was then 60 years of age. A hog lay there the night before, and the place was foul with dung and wet from snow, about which Peter complained bitterly. The order of the court which led to his conviction read, " 'Tis the order of the Court that the Constable be sent to Peter Folger for the Court Booke and all the Records of that Nature, and this to impower the Constable herein to bring them to ye Court forthwith and Peter Folger is hereby required to deliver them. Thos. Macy, Magistrate." Macy then appointed his son-in-law, William Worth, Clerk of Court.

Peter Folger's incarceration continued for one and one half years. Involved in the incident was the loss of Peter Folger's "Court Booke" containing the records from 1661 to 1672. This treasure has never been found, and with this single exception, the records of all the departments of the history of Nantucket are remarkably complete. Folger appears to have had the education of a genius. The evil in society and government existing and repeating itself in his generation is deplored in his political message in homespun verse dated April 23, 1676, "A Looking Glass for the Times or The Former Spirit of New England revived in this Generation." This doggerel verse is an excellent testimonial to Folger's advanced education; and his regard for faith, peace, civility and good will among men and his distrust for the evil in magistrates.

John Gardner, the chief rebel against authority, refused to answer a summons to appear before the Nantucket General Court. He was fined and disfranchised. Sarah Shattuck Gardner, wife of Richard, Tobias Coleman, Eleazer Folger, and Richard Gardner were convicted of speaking evil of authority. Governor Andros was promptly acquainted with the serious state of affairs by letters from Captain John Gardner dated March 15 and May 31, 1677, and by a lengthy

epistle from Folger on March 27 bearing the endorsement of Richard Gardner, Edward Starbuck, and Thomas Coleman, in which he discussed the evil magistrates blaming them for all the ills of humanity, the Indian Wars, and the persecution of the Anabaptists. Peter Folger's imprisonment caused unrest among the Indians. They resented the judgment of their court cases by Peter Coffin. Bitter animosities were cultivated against Thomas Macy. Then on September 16, 1677, Tristram Coffin was commissioned Chief Magistrate for a year, and for the last time.

In 1679, Captain John Gardner was elected Assistant Magistrate, but the General Court controlled by Tristram Coffin and his gentry, refused to recognize the election to office of a disfranchised man and declared the town in contempt of the Court's order. But Andros ordered that the sentence of disfranchisement was illegal and beyond the court's authority, and ordered the retraction of the court's sentence upon Folger and Gardner. Gardner's citizenship was restored by Governor Andros, and in 1680 Andros commissioned him Chief Magistrate.

Tristram Coffin's bitter opposition to Captain John Gardner and to the rulings of Andros was most unpleasant and unfortunate. His dissenting attitude, his irritability, his desire to rule rather than to govern, and his disregard for human rights were inexcusable and wholly foreign to the spirit of a small struggling community.

D. Passing of the Leaders

Tristram Coffin was now old, weak, and tyrannical. He failed his authority in the plundering of a French vessel wrecked on Nantucket in 1678. This incident a few years later caused him much sorrow. Governor Andros, hearing of the incident ordered a trial by a Court of Admiralty, which, sitting at Nantucket on August 28, 1680, found him guilty. Tristram pleaded his unfamiliarity with the maritime laws. A large portion of the fine was met by his son James. Also, Captain John Gardner nobly befriended him by obtaining a

substantial reduction in the penalty. After suitable reparation, Tristram was discharged from the judgment of the Court by Andros on November 1, 1680. Less than a year later on October 2, 1681, Tristram passed away at his new and second residence on the hill at Northam near Capaum Pond at the age of 76 years. Tristram found a sepulchre upon the island, but no one can point out the place. If the ancient cemetery east of Maxcey's Pond was used for burials as early as 1681, as it very likely was, he was doubtless interred therein; if not, then on his own estate at Capaum.

Fully a year before his death, Tristram became endeared to Captain John Gardner, whom he now regarded as his loving neighbor. The bitter experience in the court room in 1677, where Tristram Coffin addressed Gardner as a delinquent, and which caused Captain John Gardner to remark, "I know my business and it may be that some of those who have meddled with me had better have eaten fire" was completely forgotten.

Others passed away in close succession: Thomas Macy in 1682; Richard Gardner in 1688; Peter Folger and Edward Starbuck in 1690. Thomas Mayhew in 1681 preceded them all. This patriarch of 89 years, thirty-five of them as a minister to the Indians, was buried in the Mayhew family burial ground, along what is now South Water Street in Edgartown. He, like Tristram, was the grave and majestic father of a distinguished posterity.

Thus ended a most unhappy incident in the history of the early settlement, known to posterity as the Nantucket Insurrection. The remains of these men, and those of others involved in that memorable political struggle presumably lie together in the Ancient or Forefathers Burial Ground on the breezy hill top overlooking Maxcey's Pond and the wide moors of Sherburne. Only the grave of Captain John Gardner is marked by a head stone, and this is the oldest certified grave upon the island.

Jane G. Austin's verses, in her *Quaint Nantucket* (1883), seem particularly appropriate here.

"Tired of tempest and racing wind,
Tired of the spouting breaker,
Here they came at the end, to find
Rest in the silent acre.

Feet pass over the graveyard turf,
Up from the sea or downward;
One way leads to the raging surf,
One to the perils townward.

'Harken, harken,' the dead men call,
'Whose is the step that passes?
Knows he not we are safe from all,
Under the nodding grasses?' "

Another century was about to dawn. Turmoil and disunity had passed. Democratic government and the management of the land by the proprietorship were well established and respected. Now the social, spiritual, and intellectual development of the people and industry, which was to bring wealth and prosperity, were being patterned by the next generation of people.

E. Jethro Coffin and Mary Gardner

Happily the Coffin and Gardner families were brought close together by the marriage in 1686 of Jethro Coffin, Tristram's grandson, and Mary Gardner, daughter of Captain John. Both families shared in the wedding gift. The site of the house was donated to the couple by Captain John Gardner, and the lumber by Peter Coffin, father of the groom, from his mill in New Hampshire. During the feud Mary's father accused Jethro's father of having his "mouth full of vile reports." Peter forbade the ceremony until the deed to the land on which the house was built had been properly executed and conveyed to the couple. Captain John hastened to meet the execution of the conditions. The polit-

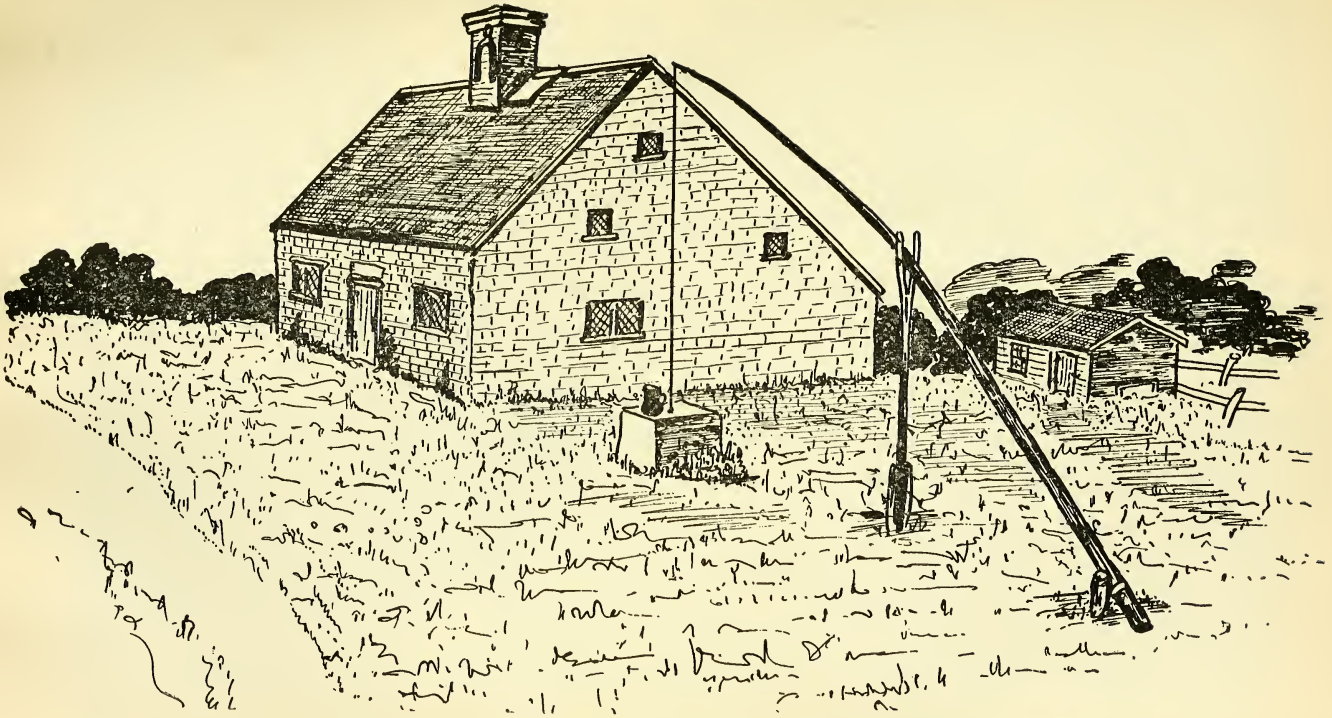


Figure 2.
Jethro Coffin or Horseshoe House, the oldest house on Nantucket built in ~~1866~~ 1686.

ical feud of the Gardners and Coffins had subsided. Five sons and three daughters were born to Jethro and Mary.

This house is a beautiful example of a seventeenth century Nantucket house. It was built during the terrible period preceding the dreadful execution of the Salem witches. The sills of the house were laid due east and west by compass, that it might front the south without a hair's variation. Now the house bears the names "The Oldest House," "The Jethro Coffin House," "The Horseshoe House." Here on Sunset Hill it occupies an imposing spot. Shall we call it "Cousin Frank's Hill" after cousin Frank Gardner of a later generation who resided a few hundred feet southwest of the house? Notice the brick horseshoe-like character built in front of the chimney. Was it placed there to protect the inmates from the machinations of the evil one during all the witchcraft excitement? Or is it merely an artistic embellishment of the chimney? Within the horseshoe is the monogram "J. C." In 1707 the house was acquired by Nathaniel Paddock. It was restored in 1881 and opened to the public in July 1897.

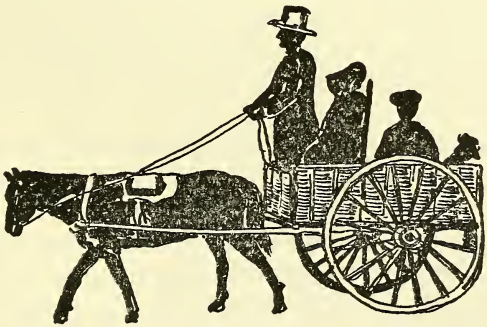
Mary Gardner Coffin, widow of Jethro, died on October 28, 1767, at the ripe age of 97 years, 4 months, 20 days, surviving Jethro by forty-one years, the latter passing in 1736. At the time of their marriage, Jethro was 26 and Mary was 16 years of age. All of their eight children were born on Nantucket.

F. Captain John Gardner Opposes the Quakers

While Captain John Gardner's leadership may have appeared to foster the general welfare of all the settlers, he showed no respect for religious freedom. He blundered in his effort to restrict the Quaker missionaries from England who had come to Nantucket to establish Quakerism. The teaching of this sect disturbed him, and his attitude to the movement grieved his wife. In 1680, as Chief Magistrate, he was accused of opposing a Quaker meeting on Nantucket. Since the arrival of Jane Stokes in 1664, the visits of the Quaker missionaries from Old England were frequent. The

movement led to the establishment of a Nantucket Meeting of Friends in 1708, which came to be the first organized religious society on Nantucket. Captain John Gardner had passed on two years before. Another leader appeared in the person of Mary Coffin Starbuck, the first great woman, who at the age of 56 years turned Quaker and became the leading spirit in the organization of the Religious Society of Friends on Nantucket.

Before the end of the 17th century many of the first families had died, and none of them lived to see an English church established on Nantucket. They were buried on this remote island far from their homeland, and the site of their graves has been lost to posterity.



Chapter 13.

NANTUCKET CEDED TO MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

On November 1, 1683, the Duke's Government at New York ordered the organization of Nantucket and adjacent islands into the County of Dukes County. A new patent was issued to the proprietors by Thomas Dongan, the provincial governor at New York, dated June 5, 1684. This was followed by another dated June 27, 1687, to a group of proprietors designated the "Trustees of the Freeholders and Commonalty of the Towne of Sharborn," which gave them the right to purchase land from the Indians and to perform all the acts enjoyed by corporations. On May 29, 1695, Nantucket was separated from Dukes County, and in 1701 Nantucket Island alone constituted Nantucket County. In 1717 Tuckernuck Island was annexed to Nantucket County, and subsequently Muskeget Island and the Gravelly Islands were also annexed.

In 1689 William III and Mary succeeded to the throne of England. A new charter was issued to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691, and the jurisdiction over the islands of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and adjacent islands was transferred to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The provincial government in New York opposed the change. A controversy ensued between the governors of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Province of New York upon the loss of jurisdiction, which ended upon confirmation of the change from London in 1693. A few barrels of fish in lieu of taxes were sent to the Duke's Government at New York each year; but under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony the taxes were burdensome, and beginning in 1696 Nantucket complained and petitioned for abatements.

Chapter 14.

THE LAND QUESTION

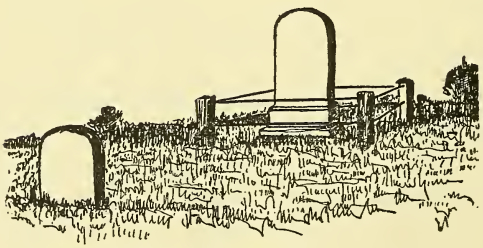
With the change in authority the land question was settled by permitting the proprietors to meet as a body respecting the land apart from the town. Consequently, the proprietors of Nantucket in 1716 formed themselves into a body corporate known as "The Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands of Nantucket." For more than 150 years all the land of the island except the house-lot land was owned in common, and no person's interest could be set off in severalty. Then Obed Mitchell, failing at proprietors' meetings and following years of litigation in the courts, obtained title in severalty to the district known as Plainfield. Others followed. Title in severalty was obtained by application to the court and the appointment of commissioners to set off the portion. Many good titles have been secured, but in many cases the undivided interests have been so badly decimated by family inheritance that a perfect title by deed is impossible. Now the common land is under the control of one corporation, the Nantucket Cranberry Company. It has more than 95 percent of the sheep common shares.

In the early history of the island the tillage land was divided into as many divisions as rights. Each year the proprietors voted according to the sheep commons rights they owned which pasture was to be tilled, which used for cattle, and which for sheep. The boundary line separating the tillage lots was a narrow furrow, or it was marked by posts or stones.

This system of rotating the use of the land among the shareholders seemed to exhaust the land because possession was temporary and the user was disposed not to give it any permanent improvements but rather to impoverish it. This

reduced the land to a miserable and hungry state. In 1801 the tillage land in the opinion of Josiah Quincy, statesman and educator, had a most wretched look. The spires of grain looked weak, and the land turned up by the plow had the appearance of a sand heap.

The sheep were allowed to run at large. Each year the flocks were brought together for shearing, one for the East, the other for the West. In 1800 about 16,000 sheep were sheared in two days, and each sheep produced about two pounds of wool each year. The shearing was a period of great festival being attended by hucksters and traders and shearers from the continent. Sheep were the national flock, and they provided mutton and wool for export. Often they were confined to fertilize small areas to enrich the land which was planted to corn and crops. In 1801 the tillage land represented 1350 acres or 1/20 of the area of the island.



Chapter 15.

FOREFATHERS BURIAL GROUND AND MONUMENT

The interments of the forefathers were simple. The first to die among the whites were, according to tradition, buried on their own ground near their dwellings. There are no records of the graves. The recovery of skeletons in Sherburne in excavating operations for new dwellings, roads, etc., would support the opinion that the practice was followed before there was an established burial ground.

Overlooking Maxcey's or Wyer's Pond and located just east of it is an ancient burial ground. The wind-swept ground comprises about two acres in area, and the pretended corners 300 feet apart are marked by cement posts hidden in dewberry, rose, and grass. The exact site and the boundaries are not definitely known. The old maps do not agree on the exact spot. To the north is the Wannacomet Water Tower and to the south the stone house of Charles P. Kimball. No one knows when the ground was set aside as a burial lot, nor when the first burial occurred. Only one grave is marked, and in 1875 according to Isaac H. Folger the original head stone was in a fair state of preservation, bearing the inscription "Here lyes ye body of John Gardner who was borne in ye year 1624 and died A.D. 1706, aged 82." There were other stones in the Ancient or Forefathers Burial Ground as late as 1883 (Austin), but none of them was legible. Vandals, more politely relic hunters, to whom not even the abode of the dead is sacred, chipped off and carried away the old markers. Captain John Gardner's stone had been chipped away until it was nearly half gone, and then to avoid its complete extinction it was removed in 1885 to the Jethro Coffin or Horseshoe House for preservation, after marking the spot for 175 years (1706-1881). The old head

stone may now be seen in the bridal chamber of his daughter, Mary Gardner Coffin. The present stone was erected December 20, 1881, and on it is inscribed, "Here lyes buried ye body of John Gardner, Esq., aged 82, who died May, 1706." Why the inscription on the original and the new headstones should not read alike is not understandable. When Harriet B. Worron (*Trustum and Grandchildren,* 1881) saw the dark, moss covered stone slate, it was nearly sunken from sight, defaced by time, but still more by rude human hands. The remains of most of the forefathers are buried here. Traces of some of the graves were apparent as late as 1906, according to Wyer in his *Sea-Girt Nantucket.*

Only a few feet from Captain John Gardner's grave is a granite monument within an iron fenced enclosure erected in 1882 by private Coffin enterprise (1881 on stone), on which are inscribed the names of some of the first male settlers buried here. This pretentious monument struck Austin (*Nantucket Scraps,* 1883) as somewhat impertinent and the two head stones, one of John Gardner, the other not legible, then crumbling into dust on the lonely hillside seemed more harmonious with the setting than with the addition of a modern fenced-in monument. The monument was voted at the first big reunion of the Coffin family on the island on August 16-18, 1881 to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Tristram's death. The Coffins came from everywhere.

The names of some of the male members of the settlement buried here are inscribed on the monument as follows:

1609	Tristram Coffin	1681
1598	Thomas Macy	1682
1604	Edward Starbuck	1690
1617	Peter Folger	1690
1624	John Gardner	1706
1664	John Swain, Jr.	1738
1664	John Coleman	1715
1626	Richard Gardner	1688
1598	Christopher Hussey	1686
1640	William Bunker	1712

The names are followed by the inscription, "Many of the descendants of these worthy sires have been distinguished for their courage and energy and left a record for others to emulate."

The edification of the male members of the settlement would seem to be quite impertinent. The lines are a bit bigoted. What about the women! They may rightfully claim their share of credit for the development of this famed island society. They were courageous, industrious, and devoted. They exposed themselves to hardship and sacrifice in order that the settlement might be peopled and endure. Love Gardner, daughter of Richard, married James Coffin, Jr., grandson of Tristram, Sr. She died in 1691 at the birth of their first child Benoni (son of my sorrow). "And it came to pass, as her soul was in departing (for she died) that she called his name Benoni; but his father called him Benjamin." On March 19, 1692, James Jr. married Ruth, daughter of John Gardner, their ages being twenty-seven and fifteen years respectively. By that union there were eleven children.

Mary Morrill had nine children by Peter Folger, and Abiah, the only child of this union born on Nantucket (August 15, 1667) was the mother of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Of all the women of those early, trying times Mary Starbuck was most eminent. She was the mother of four sons and six daughters and the guiding spirit in the organization of the Religious Society of Friends.

The first men and the first women who settled here might equally share in the credit for the energy and achievements of their posterity.

A. Christopher Hussey

Why should the inscription on this pretentious monument include the name of Christopher Hussey. Has it occured to the historians that Christopher Hussey was not buried on Nantucket? He died at Hampton, New Hampshire, March 6, 1686. He was one of the purchasers of Nantucket, but his

interest there, with that of Robert Pike on the west side of Trott's Swamp, was acquired by Stephen Hussey, the only child of Christopher and Theodate Bachelder to move to Nantucket. Christopher, or Captain Christopher, was for a time a sea captain, and he undoubtedly visited Nantucket for the drawing for house lot land. He was one of the original settlers of Hampton and in 1679 was appointed one of six governing councillors for the newly organized state of New Hampshire. His remains are definitely not in The Forefathers Burial Ground as the inscription on the monument would lead us to believe.

Burials were continued until a late date in the Forefathers Burial Ground. Jonathan Coffin (1692-1773), grandson of Tristram and Dionis Stevens and fourteenth child of James and Mary Severance, and his wife Hepsibah Harker (deceased Dec. 30, 1773) were both buried there in 1773. They were the last to be buried there.

B. The First Church

The inscription on the fenced-in monument also places the erection of the first church on or adjacent to the Forefathers Burial Ground in 1711, and its subsequent removal to where it now stands as the Vestry of the First Congregational Society. But all this is false, for here is the record.

In January, 1716, the Town Meeting voted to build a Town House 34 x 24 feet. It was erected on the hill on the south side of Westchester Street and north of No Bottom Pond. In 1783 this Town House was moved to Milk and Main Streets where it stood for many years. It is significant that in January, 1716 the town voted to place notifications of proprietors meetings on the Town House and Meeting House. On the 29th day of the 11th month 1716-17, it was, "Voted by ye town yt for time to come all ye proprietors meetings shall be warned by setting up a Notification ŏn ye Town House and on ye Meeting House." At this time there was but one Meeting House, that of the Quakers, on the site of their first burial ground southeast of Maxcey's Pond.

At the town meeting on the 18th day ye 11th month 1725-26, it was voted "yt ye method for ye future to warne ye Town Meetings shall be set up notification at ye two meeting houses and ye town house setting forth ye occasion of ye meeting, etc." The two meeting houses referred to are the Friends' and Presbyterian, the latter being the present vestry of the Congregational Church, newly erected about 1724 or 1725.

On May 9, 1725, Timothy White began preaching the Gospel on Nantucket; he was the first minister of which there is any record being appointed in 1732, but he was not an ordained minister and on the Lord's Day, June 11, 1732, he preached very well at the newly built Presbyterian Meeting House. There is no evidence of a Presbyterian church organization before his coming in 1725. The vestry was located on the hill near the town house and jail, just north of No Bottom Pond, not earlier than 1725. This high piece of ground north of No Bottom Pond was part of land acquired from the heirs of William Bunker, who died June 6, 1712, and other land was given by the proprietors in exchange.

Dudley (*Churches and Pastors,* 1902), Hosmer (*Sanctuary of our Fathers,* 1865) and Ewer (*Hist. Map of Nantucket,* 1869) refer to the traditional church of 1711 on a site north of No Bottom Pond. The fenced-in granite monument on the site of the Ancient Burial Ground east of Maxcey's Pond claims this as the site of the first church or vestry built in 1711. There is no record of a meeting house on this site, and the old vestry of the First Congregational Society (Presbyterian) was never here. The traditional year 1711 was derived from the story that an individual "remarkable for his knowledge of primitive history" had seen a bill dated 1711 against the First Congregational Society for timber which was used in building the original meeting house. The traditional date then rests on a traditional bill. It has been written that the timber used in building the traditional house of worship of 1711 "was obtained from the huge and towering white oaks with which the island was once covered"

(*Hist. Sketch, First Congreg. Church Nantucket,* 1850). Nothing could be further from the truth. There were no such large trees on Nantucket within the history of the white settlement to furnish timber for the construction of the vestry or any of the dwellings. After the white settlers came, large quantities of building timbers were shipped to Nantucket from New Hampshire and Maine.

The gable-end of the vestry is inscribed with the date 1711. The figures should be investigated and revised. The year 1711 corresponds to the period that the Friends built their first meeting house southeast of Maxcey's Pond. There is no record of a meeting house on the sloping site north of No Bottom Pond at this period.

In 1765, during the ministry of Joseph Mayhew, the second pastor, the church vestry was taken down and removed to Beacon Hill on Center Street, about on the site of the present First Congregational Church. On November 25, 1767, Rev. Bezaleel Shaw, graduate of Harvard University, class of 1762, became the third minister leading services in the vestry until his death in February 1796. The dilapidated marble slab on his grave in the Old North Burial Ground bears the inscription "He was uncle to the late Chief Justice Shaw and left one daughter." During his pastorate a movement developed in the church which led to a division, and the organization of the Second Congregational Church in 1809, later the Unitarian Church.

During the pastorate of Reverend Stephen Mason, April 29, 1830 to March 30, 1935, the vestry was moved (1834) to where it now stands to make possible the building of the present First or North Congregational Church. The building was completed and dedicated Nov. 6, 1834. The original steeple, now removed was 123 feet high. Only the cubical base remains with a small steeple on each of its four corners. This is the history of the Presbyterian Meeting House or the First Congregational Church Vestry.

C. John Swain, Jr.

The name of John Swain, Jr. is inscribed on the fenced-in monument in the Forefathers Burial Ground. Is this the site of his remains? He was born on September 1, 1664, and was the first male white child born on Nantucket. He was the son of John Swain, Sr. and Mary Wyer, both Quakers, and the husband of Experience Folger, daughter of Peter.

The Swain family bought land in Polpis from the Indians in 1680, which was confirmed in 1684 and 1686. John Sr. and his father, Richard, both original proprietors, owned the lands on the Plain at the south head of Hummock Pond, and Richard probably lived there until his death in 1682. The records state that the land and house near Hummock Pond were sold in 1687. It is known that John Sr. had a house at Polpis in 1676 or 1677, and in that year he was licensed by the town to operate a fulling mill near his house. At that time John Jr., who accompanied his father to Polpis, was thirteen years of age. Another authority claims that the Swain house was built in 1684, two years before the Jethro Coffin house (1686), and another in 1672. If the original house, a single room, was built in 1672, then it was enlarged by additions at the east and west ends after 1684. The site of the first house is on the farm of the late Franklin P. Chadwick. Nearby, until 1902, stood the third oldest house in Polpis, constructed by John Swain Sr., in 1704, for his daughter Elizabeth, who married Joshua Sevolle. This house was situated across the road from the original site of the old Polpis school house. The school house was moved to a site adjoining the east side of the Polpis cemetery several years ago and converted into a dwelling. The original site of the school house is shown on Walling's Map of Nantucket County 1858. This old Swain house was demolished by lightning in 1902. Love Smith was its last occupant.

Richard Swain died in 1682. His son, John Swain, Sr., died in 1715. John Jr. died on November 29, 1738, at the age of 73 years. It appears strange that of the three genera-

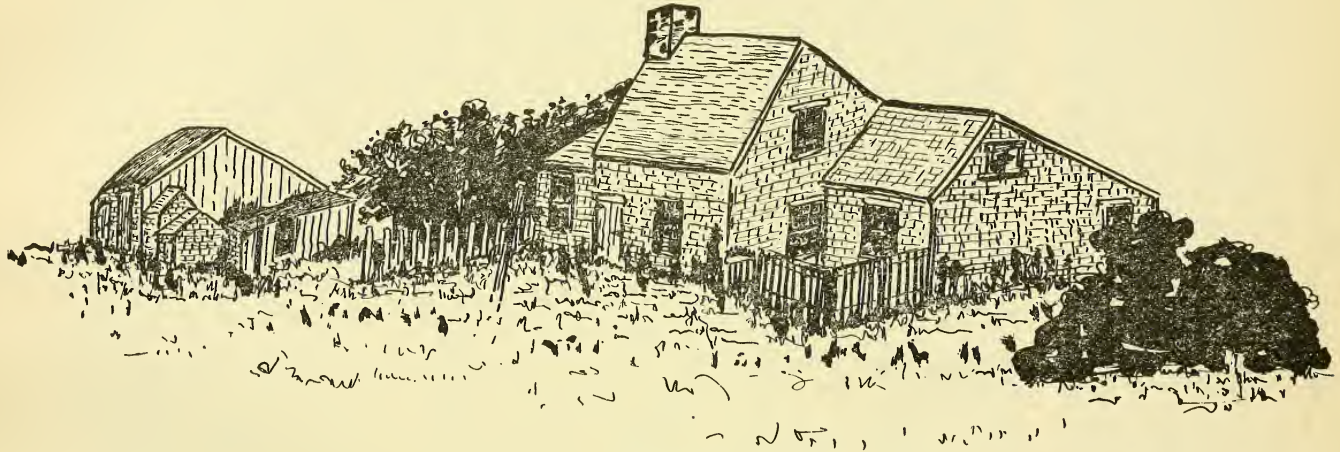


Figure 3.
Old Swain House in Polpis built in 1672 and long extinct.

tions of Swains only John Jr. of the third generation, and a native of Nantucket by birth, should be listed among the names of the first settlers inscribed on the Forefathers' Monument. He might have been buried in the First Friends Burial Ground southeast of Maxcey's Pond, since the Swains were Quakers. It is more probable that John Jr. was interred in the Polpis Burial Ground, the mound of land on the north side of the Polpis road and about 200 feet west of the original site of the Polpis school house. The site of this ancient cemetery is plotted on Ewer's *Historical Map of Nantucket* (1869), and it is the only Nantucket map that shows the location of the Polpis cemetery.

A story that John Swain's money is buried on Swain's Neck has been handed down to the present time. In 1695 a French privateer anchored off Squam Head. Some of the buccaneers came ashore on a predatory mission and learned from the Indians the location of the nearest white settlement at Polpis. One of the Indians sped to John Swain's house to reveal the danger. Swain sped west to Swain's Neck with his bag of money and spade, to save himself from being robbed. The location of the buried treasure, which for that day was a large sum, has remained a mystery. Swain died in 1715 so that the story of secreting his treasure for twenty years in the face of want would appear to be incredible.

Chapter 16.

OLD NORTH AND OTHER BURIAL GROUNDS

You must visit the Old North Cemetery on the northwest section of New and Grove Lanes. Originally, this was the "Gardner Burying Ground," having been started by Gardners. About half the stones announce the marriage of Gardners and Coffins. Afterwards, however, it was taken over by the First or North Congregational Society. This ground was set aside in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and the first interment there was the body of Abigail Coffin Gardner, wife of Nathaniel Gardner, the twelfth child of James Coffin and Mary Severance and granddaughter of Tristram, who died March 15, 1709. Richard Gardner, Jr., third child of the first settler was buried here in March 1728, and many thousands more including the Rev. Bazaleel Shaw, pastor for 29 years of the North Congregational Society, who died February 28, 1796. The original set-off of this burial ground is unknown, and there is no record. A catalogue of all the legible inscriptions on the stones was prepared for the Nantucket Historical Association by Reverend Myron S. Dudley and Dr. Benjamin Sharp. In 1936 Charles P. Kimball reported the oldest stone then standing, identifying the grave of Margaret Hussey, wife of Obed Hussey, deceased December 14, 1746. The last interment was that of Robert Ratliff in 1882, who was shipwrecked on Nantucket in 1820. Much is written about him. Further back is the grave of Capt. Reuben Chase.

Reuben Chase was born on Nantucket June 23, 1754, and died there June 23, 1824. He was immortalized by James Fenimore Cooper in his famous novel *The Pilot,* as a perfect type of sailor character and hero, Long Tom Coffin. The epitaph on Reuben's stone was in keeping with the practice

of recording all circumstances attending one's last illness and demise.

"Free from the storms and ills of human life,
Free from the noise of passion and of strife,
Here lies Reuben Chase, buried, who hath stood the sea
Of ebbing life and flowing misery.
He was no dandy rigged; his prudent eye foresaw
And took a reef at fortune's quickest flaw.

He luffed and bore away to please mankind,
Though duty urged him still to head the wind.
Rheumatic gusts at length his masts destroyed,
Yet jury health awhile he still enjoyed.
Laden with grief and age, and shattered here,
At last he struck and grounded on his bier.

There careening thus he lay
His final bilge expecting every day
Heaven took his ballast from its deepest hold,
And left his body a wreck, destitute of soul."

His brother Captain Joseph Chase, also a whaleman, wrote these lines and had them inscribed on Reuben's headstone. But Reuben's son Obed later dismounted the stone and put up the one now standing and bearing the inscription, "An honest man, a revolutionary officer and a pensioner." Some contrast. Obed was absent on a voyage at the time of his father's death and being young did not sense the meaning of the lines to his father.

In 1883 Jane Austin wrote that the gravestones are almost lost in a riotous growth of vines and grasses, mostly rose and dewberry. She asserted that the bare middle ground is packed closely with graves to make many little hollows, and she surmised that the Quakers buried here before they had a place of their own. The early families did not believe in markers, and they were not available. No, no, there are no Quakers here in this cemetery.

Stevens visited the cemetery and described it's appearance in *Nantucket, the Far-Away Island* (1936). At that time he found the site so overgrown with bayberry and wild rose as to make it difficult to get at the gravestones. Many of the markers, of which the earliest were of slate, have been obliterated. In 1936 the town of Nantucket cleared the ground of brambles and bushes, giving the old peaceful cemetery a sense of dignity and respect. The bushes and brambles are chiefly poplar, bayberry, beach plum, and dewberry. They thrive here. The complete circuit of exotic privet hedge planted to replace the old historical wooden fence in 1936 gives an artifical and unnatural complexion to this moorish wind-swept place. It is not proper here. There is indeed an atmosphere of peace and loneliness in this quiet spot. "This," Stevens says, "is the place to recite Grey's 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.' "

The burial ground for colored people occupies an open site just beyond or south of Mill Hill Park. Many of the men who enlisted for service in the Civil War were of the colored race, and here in this lonely cemetery as in the others numerous American flags are placed every year to mark the site of the graves of the men who served their country in its struggle to preserve the Union.

The ground for people of color was set aside before 1800. There is one stone bearing the year 1798. Many of the graves are marked with native stones from the fields and sea shore, and several are without any inscription. Many of the graves have no markers. Numerous Pompeys are buried here. The site of the remains of Reverend J. E. Crawford, eloquent preacher and best known minister to the colored Baptists, and of Ann W., his first wife, deceased in 1858, on his right, together with those of his second wife, Dianna S., deceased 1860, on his left, is most conspicuous. The ground is no longer used for burials.

Chapter 17.

INTERMARRIAGES AMONG FIRST FAMILIES

The numerous children of the first settlers intermarried, and all of the families became related. Every Coffin, Coleman, Gardner, Hussey, Starbuck, Swain, Wyer, Macy, and Worth, was a cousin to all the rest. One of Maria Mitchell's admirers once told Maria that she had met her cousin on Nantucket, which brought the reply that she had 5000 cousins on Nantucket, which at that time was the island's population. Reverend Dr. F. C. Ewer once said that his precious blood was chemically composed of the following consanguineous Nantucket compounds, and for all of which he was humbly grateful:

Silicate of Trott	2.0%		
Protoxide of Swain	3.0%		
Chloride of Cartwright		11.0%	
Bicarbonate of Burnell		2.0%	
Nitrate of Worth		3.0%	
Sulfate of Starbuck		11.0%	
Hydrated Sulfuric Acid of Ewer			11.0%
Aurate of Folger			29.0%
Superphosphate of Coffin			12.0%
Hydrated Pentoxide of Gardner			15.0%
Traces of Tobey, Wing and Macy			1.0%

The ocean and isolation imposed further barriers to marriage selection. The pride of island blood and the close ties of the first families encouraged close marriages. Even the prevailing religious code imposed a barrier to marriage selection by requiring the intermarriage of the "Faithful." Quakerism forbade marriages with the world's people, which on Nantucket represented and excluded, at the zenith of its strength, fully one-third of the population of the island. The

penalty for outmarriage was disownment, and this in the early history of the faith was considered a great loss and disgrace. At the beginning of the decline in the early part of the 19th century, disownment because of outmarriage was common, and by 1850 fully one-half of the Friends of the Nantucket Meeting had married members of other religious faiths. This was the will of God as He spoke unto Moses, saying, "Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and my judgments; which if a man do, he shall live in them; I am the Lord. None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness; I am the Lord." *Leviticus* 18:5-6.

Consanguineous marriages on Nantucket were fraught with danger. It may be inferred that they produced serious physical defects and abnormal mental traits similar to those reported in contemporary studies by Dr. S. M. Bemiss and Dr. S. G. Howe.* Idiocy, however, is only one of the forms in which Nature manifests that she has been offended by intermarriage.

Dr. Alexander Graham Bell (1880) reported that consanguinity on Martha's Vineyard resulted in 11% deaf mutes or 1 out of every 25 of the whole population, and many hermaphrodites. Other information on the subject in relation to Martha's Vineyard is offered by Dr. Charles F. Withington in a very interesting article "Consanguineous Marriages; Their Effect upon Offspring" (1885).

No studies have been reported on the genetics of the early Nantucket population. Formidable barriers to marriage selection existed here, and inter-marriages were unavoidable. In consequence mental defects, deaf mutism, insanity, feeble mindedness, and peculiar traits were common. Up to 1850 deaths due to tuberculosis ran tremendously high.

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*In 1858 Dr. Bemiss reported 28.7% defective children among 3,942 offspring of 833 consanguineous marriages.

In 1853 Dr. Howe reported a percentage of idiocy as high as 50%. For further studies, the reader is referred to Document 51, The Senate, Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1848: *Report of Commissioners to inquire into conditions of idiots of the Commonwealth, February 28, 1848.*

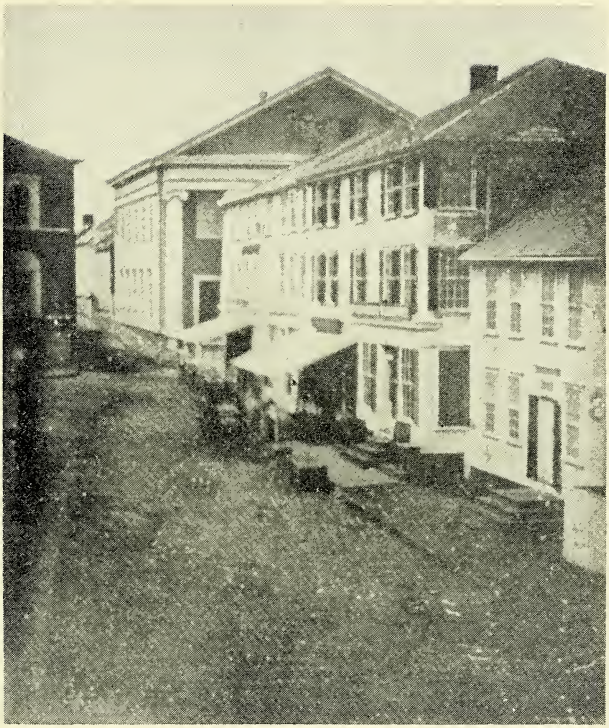


PLATE 1

Main Street, Nantucket in the third decade of the nineteenth century All of the center of the town, save the Pacific Bank and the Methodist church in the background, was destroyed by fire on the night of July 13, 1846.

PLATE 2

Counting house and warehouse of William Rotch built in 1765. It is now the property and meeting place of the Pacific Club, formerly an organization of retired sea captains, now of some of the townsmen who gather here to exchange news, josh each other and play cards.

Reverend Shaw (*Births, Marriages, and Deaths 1789-1792*) reported frequent deaths from pulmonary consumption or hectical decay.

Tuberculosis is the resultant of infection added to natural and acquired non-resistance. Susceptibility was perpetuated and increased by consanguinity. The clear eugenic advice should have been out-marriage, but Quakerism deplored such a doctrine. The mist which shielded the Quakers here was in reality far from being a blessing.

Here are some examples of first cousin marriages. Nathaniel and Mary Barnard, son and daughter of the brothers Thomas and Robert Barnard respectively, gave birth to ten children. Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck married her cousin Peter Coffin, Jr., son of Peter and Abigail (Starbuck) Coffin. These first cousins were both grandchildren of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin. Both also were grandchildren of Edward and Katherine (Reynolds) Starbuck. Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., son of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, married Dinah Coffin, daughter of James and Mary (Severance) Coffin. Both cousins were grandchildren of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin. Rachel Gardner Brown, daughter of John and Priscilla (Grafton) Gardner and widow of John Brown, married her first cousin James, son of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. This was the third of James' four marriages, and it resulted in one child, James, Jr. ,who married his first cousin, Susanna Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail (Coffin) Gardner. Of the seven children from this marriage, Susanna, the seventh child, married William Gardner, son of Stephen and Jemima (Worth) Gardner and a direct descendant of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. Elias Coffin (son of John Coffin and Hope Gardner) married his first cousin, Love Coffin (daughter of Ebenezer Coffin and Eleanor Barnard). John and Ebenezer, brothers, were grandchildren of Tristram and Dionis. Experience Look, daughter of Thomas Look and

Elizabeth Bunker, married her first cousin, Stephen Coffin, Jr., son of Stephen Coffin and Mary Bunker.

The mental traits and the physical condition of the progenies of these cousin marriages would make an interesting study in eugenics but the vital statistics for such a study are lacking.

Although the parents even though blood relatives may be of strong mentality and free of any physical infirmities, any defects lurking in their blood tend to reveal themselves in their children. The intermarriage of parental strains or blood relatives free from undesirable traits and free from the predisposition to disease or infirmity also existed in this primitive New England stock because from the first families on this sea-girt island were descended men and women who have made American history. Students of heredity can find no better illustration of the transmission of successful and superior mental traits and physical fitness than those which appeared among the numerous lineal decendants of the first Coffins, Gayers, Gardners, Starbucks, Colemans, and Macys. Many manifestations of achievement and leadership have appeared in business, literature, and science; and from the beginning of the settlement the lines have included leading merchants, public officials, authors, educators, and professional and scientific men.

Chapter 18.

ILLUSTRIOUS SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Have you heard of Timothy Gardner Coffin, born of Quaker stock November 1, 1788, and educated at Brown University? He was the nestor of the legal fraternity of Bristol County, Massachusetts, for many years and proctor of magnificent attainments. Daniel Webster is reported to have said of him after a court battle at Nantucket, "Tim Coffin is the ablest lawyer in the United States. He is one of all others I should prefer not to meet." Although of Quaker stock, he carried none of its distaste for form and ceremony to the grave. His burial lot in Rural Cemetery, New Bedford, Massachusetts is beset with a tall, pretentious monument.

Hail to Lucretia Mott, the earliest champion of woman suffrage. She was the embodiment of human perfection:

"She spoke of justice, truth and love
How soft her words distilled!
She spoke of God and all the places
Was with His presence filled."

T. W. Chadwick

To the end of her life, Lucretia Mott was active in the promotion of temperance and in the elevation of women. Her portrait appears with those of Elizabeth Stanton and Carrie Chapman Catt on a three-cent United States postage stamp issued July 19, 1948, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, and "100 Years of Progress of Women, 1948-1948". She was truly a "women's rights" woman.

We cannot overlook the noted Phebe Ann (Coffin) Hanaford, the first woman pastor in New England. She was noted as a Universalist minister, Lyceum lecturer, author and editor, ardent champion of anti-slavery, temperance, social

reform, and women's rights. She was descended 8 times from Tristram Coffin, 6 times from Edward Starbuck, and 3 times from Peter Folger.

There was Anna Gardner, daughter of Oliver and Hannah (Macy) Gardner, who for many years taught school in the South, a writer of great ability, champion of the colored people, and a strong advocate of women's suffrage.

Abiah Folger was the daughter of Peter Folger and the mother of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Abiah married Josiah Franklin at the age of 18. She was his second wife; and by this marriage they had 10 children, of whom Benjamin was the youngest son. Josiah had 7 children by his first wife, but Benjamin was the gem of all of them. Abiah was born on Nantucket on August 15, 1667, and she was the only child of Peter Folger and Mary (Morrill) who was born on the island.

William Mitchell was a talented teacher and astronomer, principal of Nantucket's first public school, president of the Board of Trustees of the Coffin School, promoter of general knowledge, delegate to the State Convention in 1820 to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, member of the State Senate, member of the Governors' Council, Chairman of the Harvard Observatory Committee, and for many years an overseer of Harvard College and in close academic contact with learned scientific men in this country and abroad. He was the father of Maria Mitchell and he accompanied her to Vassar College in 1865. He died there on April 19, 1869. His remains were removed to Nantucket and interred on April 22 in Prospect Hill cemetery in accordance with the customs of the Society of Friends, to which sect he belonged.

Maria Mitchell, 1818-1889, is another member of Nantucket's Hall of Fame. She rose to great prominence although her only instruction was her father's teaching, Nantucket schools, and her own reading. She was computer for the Nautical Almanac, first woman member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and professor of astronomy

and director of the observatory at Vassar College. The library, observatory, and astronomical and biological laboratories established in the setting of her birth place and administered by the Nantucket Maria Mitchell Association are splendid memorials to this great Nantucket daughter. Maria Mitchell is buried at the foot of a small hillock in Prospect Hill Cemetery in a lot enclosed by a low iron fence. A modest tablet of stone identifies the site of the earthly remains of this talented daughter of the island. In 1948 Maria Mitchell was impressively portrayed in a nation-wide radio broadcast "Diamond in the Sky" sponsored by E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. More recently (1949) Helen Wright has written an outstanding biography of her life entitled *Sweeper in the Sky.*

Mary Coffin Starbuck's fame is spread over all of the pages of Nantucket history. She has been called the "great woman," the "mother superior" of Quakerism on Nantucket.

Sir Isaac Coffin, admiral in the British Navy and a great grandson of Tristram by way of James, gave the Nantucketers a school.

Miriam (Keziah) Coffin, wife of John Coffin and daughter of Daniel and Abigail Folger and a devout loyalist during the Revolutionary War, carried on a monopoly in trade between Nantucket and New York under the protection of the British Navy while the Nantucketers faced cold and starvation and their ships rotted at the wharves. Keziah is the heroine in J. C. Hart's novel, *"Miriam Coffin or the Whale Fisherman."* Her court battles and lawsuits completely dissipated her fortune, and she died in poverty. Historical reseach has refuted the common accusations against Kezia Coffin, and there is no record of her arrest for smuggling. Smuggling was merely the attempt to run provisions into Nantucket when the American colonies prohibited exportations to the islands. Kezia Coffin and others including William Rotch, noted whaleman, were arrested on the charge of corresponding and trading with the enemy (treason), but the court would not convict them.

The Honorable Walter Folger, Jr. was a great astronomer, mathematician, civil engineer, writer, lawyer, and statesman. Like all the Folgers he was a brainy man exhibiting a high development of the notable trait of the "Knowing Folgers," famous for his astronomical clock and for his *Memoir on Aerolites,* now an exceedingly rare publication whose search for truth reached far beyond the stars. Also, it is written that he was "as odd as huckleberry chowder".

The Honorable Charles J. Folger was a great lawyer and in 1882 was Secretary of the United States Treasury and later Republican candidate for governor of New York.

The Reverend Dr. F. C. Ewer, was a clergyman of note, a versatile genius, a civil engineer, and something of a geologist. In 1869 he made a survey of Nantucket and adjacent islands and prepared an excellent historical map which bears his name.

Dr. Zaccheus Macy (December 7, 1713-October 27, 1797) was for almost fifty years the principal surgeon on the island. He performed over 2,000 operations and never charged for his services. He was a staunch friend of the Indians. He is the author of "Short Journal of the First Settlement of Nantucket," which he wrote in the 79th year of his age (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, Vol. 3:155-161, 1792).

Obed Macy was the author of the earliest history of Nantucket, published in 1835 and written in the last decade of his life.

Alexander Starbuck, ardent son of Nantucket, migrated to Waltham, Massachusetts, as a young man to follow the watchmaker's trade but left it to enter journalism; he was the author of a very complete and authentic history of Nantucket.

Rowland Hussey Macy, founder of Macy's Department Store in New York City in 1858, was an islander with a spirit of enterprise in various fields. At the time of his decease in 1877 he employed upwards of five hundred clerks. The business of the store took on a great impetus in 1888 when it was acquired by Isador and Nathan Straus.

William Rotch, son of Joseph Rotch and Mary Macy, was a large whaleship owner and merchant who carried on his immense whaling business in Nantucket, Dunkerque (France), and New Bedford. He was a man of great force and ability and has been regarded as Nantucket's greatest son. He came back to Nantucket from France in his 61st year (1794) and thence went to New Bedford where he became a leading citizen and merchant. Here is the prayer of the New Bedford Courier at the time of his decease May 16, 1828.

> "May his bright example, which has so long been spared as a beacon to successive generations be held in grateful remembrance, and be preserved as a model worthy of imitation by his children's children throughout unborn ages yet to come."

Dr. Charles Frederick Winslow (1811-1877) was educated at Harvard College and Paris, France and practiced medicine in numerous hospitals in the Pacific, Nantucket and Waltham, Massachusetts (1853) and subsequently in the far western states. He became more scientist and business man than medical doctor. His investments were in mining enterprises and his major interests in science, politics, cosmography, the temperance movement and education for women.

Neither will time forget the noteworthy 339 young, able-bodied men who served in the army and navy during the four long years of struggle to preserve the Union. These were Nantucket's gallant men in blue of the Civil War. (Army 213, Navy 126). This was 56 more than Nantucket's quota. Nantucket was justly called the banner town of the Commonwealth. Many of them were mere boys, and many of them died in prison and on the battlefield. The names on the Soldiers' Monument recall the pathetic incidents of disease, starvation, wounds, and deaths. The death of Arthur M. Rivers was especially tragic and shocking. He was born June 19, 1848, and lacked six months of seventeen years of age at the time of his death on December 21, 1864, in the

Confederate prison at Salisbury, North Carolina. Ada, the only daughter, died January 31, 1863.

Rivers enlisted in the Union Army on August 13, 1862, being then but a little over 14 years of age. The young lad was wounded and taken prisoner at Gettysburg. Other Nantucketers to die in prison were Samuel Crocker, George Spencer, and Benjamin Ray. Seth C. Chase, another prisoner at Salisbury, arrived at Nantucket on March 19, 1866. He lived less than a month after his return. He revealed the news that young Rivers died in his arms. An American flag smuggled into the Confederate prison was wrapped around him, and the "gallant boys in blue" brought him out wrapped in the flag. There was no twinkle in Chase's eyes when he revealed the sad news of young Rivers' death.

The Rivers' family lot may be found in the Prospect Hill Cemetery. On Arthur's headstone is inscribed, "He rests from his labors." Close by are the graves of his mother Ann and his sister Ada. The burial plot is hidden by clumps of bayberry, beach plum, scrub pine, dewberry vines, and golden rod. He was a noble boy, a soldier in the service of a great cause. The mother, Ann, deceased March 20, 1874, was interred beside her two children. Another son Alonzo M. and his father, a mariner, left the island.

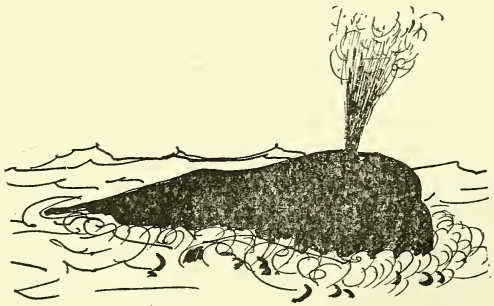
And alas! The whaleman. Nantucket was his creation. His industry, hardship, suffering, and sacrifice on long voyages from the island on the clumsy "blubber hunters" far away from friends and family were "a sailor's horror." The forecastle or fo'lk'sle, a gloomy den below deck, sometimes referred to as the "Black Hole of Calcutta" with its intense odor of grease and oil, was his home. The eating utensils were tin plates, and the food was "long lick" (tea, coffee, and molasses) and "scouse" (hard tack, beans, and meat) and a bucket of water and one cup for all.

After four long years of toil in the face of privation and sacrifice, if the whaleman lived to return, came the earnings, a share of the "lay," a few hundred dollars, if the voyage was moderately successful, less the depletions by the cap-

tain's "slopchest," the account for tobacco, clothing, soap, and incidentals. All honor to the whaleman "nimrod of the sea." O Nantucket! Have you forgotten your whalemen? Where is your whaleman's memorial, if only a plain ground and a simple unpretentious stone? Edmund Burke, speaking before the British House of Commons in 1775 "On Conciliation with America," paid him undying tribute.

> "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of the English enterprise ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent People; a People who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone, of manhood."

On July 24, 1930, the Whaling Museum belonging to the Nantucket Historical Association and formerly an old candle house was dedicated to the Nantucket whaling industry. It might also be considered a memorial to William F. Macy, through whose interest and ceaseless efforts the Nantucket Whaling Museum became a reality.



Chapter 19.

PRIDE OF NATIVE HOMELAND

A distinguishing characteristic which marks the people of this island is their affection and loyalty to their native birthplace. They pride themselves on being lineal descendants of the first families. To be an islander by birth and a lineal descendant of one of the first families too is something the Nantucketers cherish beyond all else. To them this is the acme of all human happiness. One of the Gardners who eminently qualified for the second category, but as an off-islander by birth not for the first, was once asked if he were born on Nantucket, to which he replied, "Unfortunately not." This too was the experience of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, grandson of Peter Folger, who came within two months of being a Nantucket native. Nantucketers are born with all "tucket" in their veins and habits. The islanders apparently have a stronger love of "native land" than any other American people. To come back to its quaint streets and homesteads in middle or later life and to spend one's last days here was the fond dream of them all.

Dr. Charles F. Winslow who died in Salt Lake City in 1877 willed that his body be interred beside his wife Lydia Coffin Jones in Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, and his heart without ceremony at mid-night in the grave of his parents in Nantucket, which was so done. With appropriate ceremony Edward Rowe Snow of Winthrop, Massachusetts, historian and "flying Santa Claus" who drops Christmas gifts on lighthouses, on July 14, 1947, in the company of numerous decendants of Dr. Winslow placed upon the site in Newtowne Cemetery a suitable tablet bearing the inscription "The heart of Dr. Charles F. Winslow lies buried here."

More deep feeling is portrayed by Mary E. Starbuck's beautiful poem, "Nantucket," as follows:

"Just a sandy windswept island!
What more would you have it be,
With a turquoise sky above it,
Around it a sapphire sea?

When its dawns are pearl and opal,
Its noons are crystal clear,
And its sunsets shower down gold dust
Till the diamond stars appear,

When to those who are born on the island,
And to many from over the sea,
'Tis fairer than all its jewels.
What more does it need to be?"

Nantucket and Other Verses, 1924

A similar sentiment is expressed by Emily S. Forman in her poem "Cactus":

"I know an isle clasped in the sea's strong arms,
Sport of his rage, and sharer of his dreams;
A barren spot to alien eyes it seems,
But for its own it wears unfading charms.
From Spring's first kiss to Autumn's last caress,
Gayly its moorlands bloom from strand to strand,
And many a favored nook by west winds fanned,
Holds flowers unmatched for tint and loveliness."

Wild Flower Sonnets, 1895

Governor Oliver Ames of Massachusetts, 31st Governor (1886-87-88), was engaged to marry a fair Nantucket daughter. When he arrived on Nantucket for the marriage ceremony, he was accosted by a "scrap islander" who asked him if he had come down to attend the big wedding. "Whose wedding?" inquired the governor.

The Nantucket "scrap" replied, "Why, Anna Ray's. She's a Swain, you know, but he's nothing but an off-islander." This sort of clannish circle, from which those not native here and to the manner born are excluded, has persisted to this day.

The Nantucketer is so thoroughly satisfied with his island that he thinks with a sort of pity of those who are unfortunate enough to have been born elsewhere. This pride in the island is deep seated even among the school children. One pupil began his composition on Napoleon thus: "Napoleon was a great man, a great soldier, and a great statesman; but he was an off islander." If you should ask the islanders about those queer white railed platforms on the tops of many of their houses called "walks," they will wonder where you have been all of your lifetime.

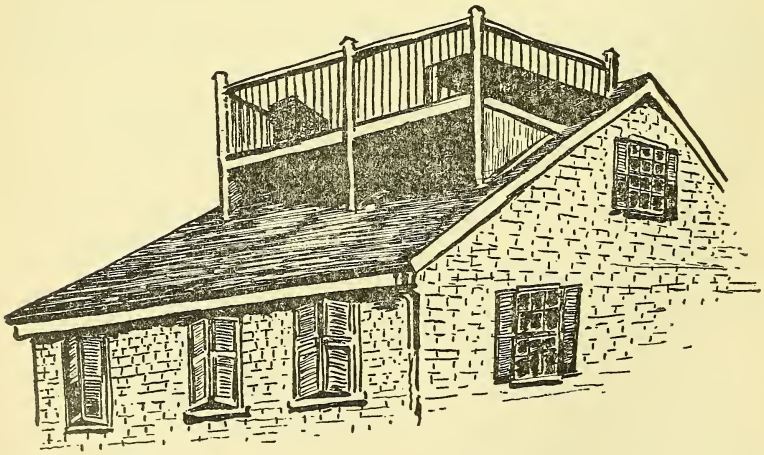


Figure 4.
The "Walk" on an old Nantucket house

Chapter 20.

BEGINNINGS OF ORGANIZED RELIGION

The early Nantucketers had no organized religious teaching. At first, and for many years after the settlers came, gatherings of the families for religious worship occurred in the homes in the same manner as the first town meetings. Every home was graced with the family Bible. Thomas Story, Quaker missionary who came to Nantucket in 1704, wrote in his autobiography that the island was inhabited by a mixed people of various notions and some Christian Indians, but no settled teachers of any kind. There were Baptists, Presbyterians and some Quakers. Both John Swain and his step-brother-in-law, Stephen Hussey, were Quakers, as early as 1682 as judged by the fact that they refused to qualify as selectmen by "swearing." As there was no law for affirmation, the town chose Nathaniel Barnard and Stephen Coffin in their places. Peter Folger, the grandfather to Benjamin Franklin, embraced Quakerism in 1680, ten years before his death. The population of the island was small. Business was conducted largely on a barter basis, and incomes were meager. Living conditions were primitive. There was no wealth. The population of the whites increased to 700 souls before any religious society was gathered among them. A similar parallel among English speaking colonists elsewhere is unknown.

It seemed only natural that Quakerism should be the first religious sect to become established. Mary Coffin Starbuck's leadership organized the Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends in 1708, in her home[1] following a series of Friends meetings in 1698 by Thomas Chalkley; in 1701 by John

[1]This house was taken down and rebuilt on upper Main Street where it is known as the Tobey House.

Richardson; and in 1704 by Thomas Story, all Quaker missionaries from England. Nathaniel Starbuck built another house near Maxcey's Pond for his son Nathaniel Jr. in 1699, which came to be known as the Parliament House[2] and here in its "bright rubbed living room" religious and civic meetings and discussions were held. Regular First Day Meetings began here in 1704.

On Richardson's visit, Mary Starbuck, at the age of 56, became a convert to the Quaker faith, and of her he wrote, "To this woman is the everlasting love of God." She was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, on February 2, 1645, and it is written that she was baptized by Peter Folger. Thomas Chalkley, in writing of his visit to Nantucket, stated, "At this time a Friend was convinced, whose name was Starbuck, who became very serviceable and lived and died an eminent minister of Christ on the island."

On September 4, 1722, Rev. Nathan Prince, then visiting on Nantucket Island, wrote to his brother Thomas, pastor of a church in Boston, " 'Tis strange how they have increased. Twenty years ago there was scarce one and now there are several hundred, and all proceeded from a woman (one Starbuck) turning Quaker; who being a person of note for wisdom in this place became a preacher and soon converted so many as that they formed themselves into a society and built a meeting house and became the prevailing profession of the island." Upon her death Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. (1668-1753), son of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, carried on his mother's profession. He married his cousin, Dinah Coffin, daughter of James. She became an elder in the meeting and "sat head" of the women's branch. Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. and Mary Coffin were married in 1662 shortly after Nantucket was settled. They bore ten children.

It was known to the Quaker missionaries before 1701 that the Starbucks were in some degree convinced of the truth. John Swain and Stephen Hussey were under the profession

[2]This house stands today at Pine and School Streets and is known as the Austin House.

of truth, but they were not of good report, could not agree among themselves, and were at odds with most of the neighbors. Story dared not entrust the organization of Quakerism on the island to their direction. The choice of the Starbuck family was a splendid one.

The petition of nine Nantucket Friends for a Nantucket Monthly Meeting, addressed to the Rhode Island Annual Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, March 26, 1708, bears their signatures in the following order:

Mary Starbuck (daughter of Tristram Coffin)
Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. (son of Mary)
Dorcas Gayer Starbuck (wife of Jethro Starbuck)
Priscilla Starbuck Coleman (daughter of Mary)
Stephen Hussey
Jethro Starbuck (son of Mary, husband of Dorcas Gayer)
John Coleman (husband of Priscilla Starbuck)
Barnabas Starbuck (son of Mary)
Anna Trott (wife of John Trott)

The petition was submitted by Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., who was the first clerk of the Nantucket Meeting.

It is not understood why Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., the husband of Mary and first child of Edward, did not sign the petition and did not join the meeting until a year later (1709). The signatures are those of mother and three sons, daughter, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law and two others. Of the other children of Tristram Coffin, only Stephen embraced Quakerism. The Coffins were strong Puritans.

Thus the Nantucket Society of Friends arose in the first decade of the 18th Century from the interest and work of a single family. Quakerism received a great impetus under the strong leadership of Mary Starbuck. It grew and dominated the life of the settlement for a century and a half, reaching its zenith of power parallel with the whale fishery before the middle of the 19th century or near 1842. Its tenets were simple, and it appealed to a simple, industrious, isolated people. It determined the manner of living, dress, social customs, and culture of the community.

Chapter 21.

INFIDELITY OF STEPHEN HUSSEY

The signature of Stephen Hussey on this historic petition for a Nantucket Monthly Meeting seems odd. He was the settlement's pettifogging lawyer, born in Lynn, the son of Christopher and Theodate Bachelder, and the only Hussey to settle on Nantucket. At the age of 46 he married Martha Bunker, age twenty years, in 1676, and by this marriage there were eight children. Martha was orphaned in 1658, at the age of one and one half years, by the death of her father, and she subsequently became the step-daughter of Richard Swain. Stephen acquired his father's set-off and that of Robert Pike on the west side of Trott's swamp.

Stephen Hussey was inclined toward law. He followed a hectic career and lived in continual turmoil. He was abusive at the town meetings, and it is reported that he schemed to change the vote on important issues and the results of elections of candidates for office. Of nine-tenths of the early court records, either Hussey or some Indian, was a party to a misdemeanor, and many of these were actions of Hussey against Indians accused of being in debt. At various times he was charged with contempt and presumption, stealing timber, and smuggling liquor into Nantucket, for which he was heavily fined. He sued the constable for seizing the liquor but lost the case. He was the harbinger of strife and commotion. The Society of Friends disowned him in 1717, following a series of litigations against members of the society. He died on February 2, 1718, in the 88th year of his life, and was decently buried in the first Friends' Burial Ground. Martha, his wife, died on the 21st, 9th month, 1744, in her 88th year.

PLATE 3

Paupers' burying ground in the moorland at Quaise used by the Quaise Asylum in the long past. It is bounded by four stone markers, one of which can be seen here.

PLATE 4

Old South or Newtowne cemetery. After you enter the turnstile, walk several paces northwesterly and near the fence you will come upon a headstone with a unique inscription to Huldah Snow composed by her husband:

Huldah, wife of Benj. Snow
However dear she was not laid here.
Some private grief was her disease
Laid to the North her friends to please.

Chapter 22.

FIRST FRIENDS BURIAL GROUND

In April 1708, the Nantucket Monthly Meeting was born in the house of Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck, and at this meeting it was proposed to purchase land for a burial ground and meeting house. At the June monthly meeting it was voted to build a meeting house as fast as possible.

Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., had his residence on the north side of the Madaket Road and a little to the east of the south end of Maxcey's Pond. At a meeting of the town, 28th, 1st mo. 1709, "ye towne do agree & voat yt Nath'l Starbuck shall have ye liberty to take up one acre of land on exchange for to sett a meeting house on to ye eastward of his son Nath'l Starbuck where on ye timber now lieth." This action of the town fixes definitely the site of the first Friends Meeting House and approximately the date of its erection. Macy (*Story of Old Nantucket,* 1915) gives the year as 1711. In February 1716 the Friends voted to enlarge the meeting house.

The site of the first Friends Burial Ground is along the Madaket Road and approximately one-third of a mile or slightly less to the eastward of the site of Nathaniel Starbuck Junior's house, and north of the Elihu Coleman house.

The Friends Burial Ground and the Meeting House were in the same lot, as would be indicated by the vote of April 1708. This ground was used for interments of the Friends from 1710 to 1760. The site of this historic burial ground has been lost to recent generations of Nantucketers. Douglas-Lithgow stumbled on it and wrote of it, "The first burial ground of the Quakers was situated just west (error, should be north) of Elihu Coleman's house on the old Madaket Road but left for many years without a stone, a fence, or any

kind of protection, it has long since been unrecognizable and no one could imagine that it had ever been a place of interment." (*History of Nantucket,* 1914, p. 129). Others who have stated the location are William C. Folger in Godfrey, *Island of Nantucket,* 1882 and H. S. Wyer in *Sea Girt Nantucket* (1906). The first book of births, marriages, and deaths for the town of Sherburne (p.11), reads: "Mary Starbuck departed this Liffe ye 13 day of ye 9 o/m, 1717 in ye 74 year of her age and was decently buried in Friends Burying Ground." She was the seventh child of Tristram and Dionis Stevens Coffin. Nathaniel Starbuck, her husband, the first child of Edward Starbuck, was buried here in June 1719, and Stephen Hussey in February 1718.

You will find the site of this hallowed ground clearly indicated on two excellent maps of Nantucket, namely, *Map of Counties of Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket* by Henry F. Walling, Superintendent of State Map, 1858 and *Historical Map of Nantucket* by Reverend Dr. F. C. Ewer, 1869. The one acre site of ground was in the Starbuck family and verbally transferred to provide the burial lot for the Society of Friends.

All of the 20th century maps of Nantucket, including the recent excellent map by R. Newton Mayall, *The Highways, By-Ways and No-Ways of Nantucket Island, Mass.,* 1945 do not show the site of the cemetery.

The remains of the famous Mary Coffin Starbuck and eight other Nantucket Quakers whose petition to the Rhode Island Annual Meeting established the first society of religious fellowship on Nantucket are in this cemetery. The burial ground should be preserved and suitably marked.

Chapter 23.

SECOND FRIENDS BURIAL GROUND

The center of population of the settlement had shifted to Wesko, the present site of the town. A new burial ground and a site for a new Meeting House was selected at Main and Saratoga Streets in 1730. In 1731, Charles Clasby, deceased February 21, 1731, was buried here although the first Friends Burial Ground further west on the Madaket Road was used for interments of the Friends until 1760.

In 1732 the Friends were collecting money to build a new meeting house on the new site. In 1760 Nathaniel Barnard was interred in the new Friends Burial Ground. As late as 1762 more work was done to enlarge the new meeting house. There were now 2,370 Friends on Nantucket. The old meeting house burned down in 1736 after having been used for a school by Benjamin Coffin, a Quaker schoolmaster called "Little Draper." This was the first building on the island to be destroyed by fire.

The new meeting house on the corner of the burial ground on Main and Saratoga Streets was taken down in 1792, and rebuilt on a lot on Main and Pleasant Streets. By 1833 it was too small, and the Friends then erected a new meeting house on Fair Street. This was used for the first time in September 1833. The Main Street meeting house was sold in 1843 and the materials were removed to Commercial Wharf for the construction of a store.

This religious sect carried its idea of simplicity and distaste for form and ceremony even to the grave. Here in the windswept and undulating field adjoining the site of the second Friends Meeting House are buried some nine to ten thousand human remains (Douglas-Lithgow), or five to ten thousand, according to Stevens. The rough undulating

ground is literally paved with bodily remains of the ancestors of every Nantucketer. They were wrapped in sailcloth and buried in plain boxes. Before 1852, the burial ground resembled a pasture lot or hayfield and it was as barren as the first Friends Burial Ground.

In 1827 to 1828 the first separation from the conservative and orthodox Friends took place in Philadelphia. An evangelical, liberal movement, then termed Unitarian, and considered radical and dangerous was led by Elias Hicks, a Long Island farmer. The name Hicksite was popularly attached to this liberal Quaker branch. It rejected the doctrine of the atonement and denied Christ's divinity. On Nantucket the Hicksites established their first meeting house in 1836 on Main Street. In 1837 to 1838, Joseph John Gurney, an exponent of a milder evangelical movement, aroused the Quakers in large numbers to his views whence came the name Gurneyites but John Wilbur, a Rhode Island public school teacher and strict orthodox Quaker, took exception to the innovations expounded by Gurney. The conflict eventually led to the expulsion of Wilbur from the Society of Friends and his supporters separated in 1845. On Nantucket the Wilburite Friends established their meeting in 1850 on Center Street.

This second division occuring in the Society in July 1845, ended in litigation. A court decision deprived the orthodox Wilburites of their property and burial ground. The Massachusetts Supreme Court ruling judged that the Wilburites represented a revision to the principles held by the original or orthodox Friends. Thus the Wilburites were declared to have seceded from the parent body. The Fair Street meeting house was held by the Wilburites by agreement, then sold in 1864, and funds from the sale were divided between the Wilburite and Gurneyite meetings. The building was taken down and the materials were removed from the island. The Gurneyites met in the Main Street Meeting House previously built (1836) and used by the Hicksites until 1850 when they removed to their own Center Street Meeting House.

The burial ground was subsequently maintained in common, and the Gurneyites or true-continuing Friends buried their dead in the north side. Some small markers fifteen inches high identify the site of the heretic Hicksite and Gurneyite sections. There are also a few modern graves on the northeast corner of the lot with stones marking the site of the remains of more recent members who had even less conscience on the subject than the Hicksites or Gurneyites. There are no grave stones in the south and largest part, which was reserved for the Wilburite Friends. Their part of the ground is destitute of any sign to mark the graves of this once influential people; rather it is overgrown with grass and weeds, trailing dewberries, poplar, and beach plum. But this simplicity is only in keeping with the tenets of the faith of this peace loving people, which prescribed that everything be kept as simple as possible, and without marks of distinction realizing that, "there are memories greater than these, embalmed in history, their graves unknown while sooner or later time's ruthless hand doth seize the perishable stone." The Quakers felt that "builded tombs and all the strong desire to be remembered after death is vain," and that "a transient name on the stone, a transient love in the heart, we have one day and are gone."

Crèvecoeur,* in his excellent "Letters from an American Farmer," 1793, wrote, "They visit and comfort the sick; after death the Society bury them with their fathers without pomp, prayers, or ceremonies; not a stone or monument is erected to tell where any person is buried; their memory is preserved by tradition. The only essential memorial that is left of them is their former industry, their kindness, their charity, or else their most conspicuous faults. How simple their precepts, how unadorned their religious system. At their death they are interred by the fraternity without pomp, without prayers, thinking it then too late to alter the course of God's eternal decree, and as you well know without either monument or tombstone. Thus, after having lived under the

*Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur.

mildest doctrine, they die just as peaceably as those who, being educated in more pompous religions, pass through a variety of sacraments, subscribe to complicated creeds, and enjoy the benefits of a church establishment."

The burial ground on Saratoga Street is now maintained by the Town of Nantucket. A sufficient sum of money to provide for its perpetual care was raised by subscription, and the Dartmouth Meeting was helpful in raising funds for the purpose. On September 30, 1915, the Nantucket Monthly Meeting accepted the following minute:

"It is understood and agreed, that in the consideration of the sum of fifteen hundred and thirty-three dollars deposited with the treasurer of the Town of Nantucket, by the Nantucket Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, that the Town of Nantucket under authority granted by Section 18, Chapter 78 of the Revised Laws, assumes the perpetual care of the Friends Burying Ground abutting on Vestal, Saratoga, and Main Street in the said Town.

"Said perpetual care is understood and agreed to be such as is the common practice under similar conditions.

"It is further understood and agreed,

1st, That a good and substantial fence shall be maintained, the turf kept in good condition, the grass properly cut, and underbrush thinned out;

2nd, That no monuments be erected unless there should be other burials; then, stones no larger than those already there and similar. All stones to be kept in a clear condition.

3rd, That no flower beds should be made, but if desired, native trees or shrubs could be set in clumps or upon the border as a hedge.

4th, Other changes or improvements, if any, are to be made in accordance with the understood principles of the Society of Friends at the time of the acceptance of this instrument.

"The clerk is directed to forward the said form to the Town of Nantucket of its acceptance."

The instrument was accepted by the Town of Nantucket at a special town meeting held December 1, 1915. A receipt from the town treasurer, G. Howard Winslow, and an item in the Annual Report, Town and County of Nantucket, 1915, p. 68, show that $1,558.83 was received from the Nantucket Monthly Meeting at Lynn, Massachusetts. Since 1915 the earnings on this trust fund have been applied to the care of the cemetery. The Annual Report of the Town and County of Nantucket, 1944, p. 4, showed a balance of $1,549.46.

Contrary to the opinion of Starbuck (*History of Nantucket,* 1924), the Dartmouth Meeting has had no jurisdiction over any property of the Nantucket Meeting. On April 2, 1944, after years of assembly off the island and in the homes of the members, beginning in Lynn, Massachusetts, and ending in Rhode Island, the Nantucket Monthly Meeting joined in a group the Providence Monthly Meeting. The valuable records of the Society dating from 1708 now are in the care of the Nantucket Historical Association, and permanently housed in Nantucket by agreement with the Narragansett (Rhode Island) Quarterly Meeting after having been removed from the island for more than a half century.

Chapter 24.

WINTER EVENINGS ON OLD NANTUCKET IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The plain living of the industrious Nantucket Quakers during the absence and the hardships of the brave whalemen at sea have been related in all the texts, but here we are reminded of them in a beautiful poem *Winter Evenings on Old Nantucket in the Eighteenth Century* by Isaac H. Folger in his *Quaint Rhymes of Ancient Nantucket*:

"The early settlers on Nantucket's Isle
Sought not to beautify their homes,
And even cared but little to beguile
The dullness, which with evening comes.

Plain speech, plain dress, and furniture as plain
Left few attractions in the scene;
In vain adornment few would spend the gain,
Whose price the father's toil had been.

The ships which strand upon Nantucket's shoals
Send wreck to shore, O woeful sight!
Yet that which landward on the flood tide rolls,
Makes driftwood for the winter's night.

In every house was found a fireplace wide,
From which huge logs sent warmth and light,
And, where all else so sombre was beside,
The fire became a joyful sight.

No conversation now called bright or gay
Was ever heard around those fires;
To let your yea be yea, and nay be nay,
Is what the Quaker faith requires.

An instrument of music dared not steal
Within the walls where mirth was mute;
'Twas said the humming of the spinning-wheel
Was better far than harp or lute.

The chimney-corner was the grandsire's place
When he had passed his manhood's prime;
His youth was spent in whaling, and the chase
Of whales, now furnished many a rhyme,

Which in the evenings he would sometimes sing,
Arousing in his grandson's heart
The hope that some not distant day might bring
His chance as sailor to depart.

The mother, saying idleness was sin,
In household duties spent her day,
And in the evening sat her down to spin
As though her spinning were but play.

At times sperm candles on the table burned,
Round which the girls would knit or sew,
Unless an honest penny must be turned,
When waxen tapers needs must go.

When sold they were replaced by home-made dips,
Round which the sewers tried to see,
And boys with jack-knives carved out whaling ships
Like those some day their own to be.

The father — Where was he? There was no seat
Prepared for him at evening time;
Ah, no, his ship was sailing in the heat
Of distant Afric's sickly clime.

Or in the frigid zone, where ice and cold
Brought sore disaster in their train;
The hardship of his life can scarce be told;
Yet whalemen braved such toil and pain.

Perchance the grandsire's song the tale would tell
Of brigs tossed on the raging sea;
How men from out the icy rigging fell,
In storm and darkness, lost to be.

Of barbarous isles where ships were wrecked, and where
So many of their crew were slain;
Of friends at home who sent up daily prayer
For ships that ne'er came back again.

The mother, as she listened, dried her tears,
Yet wept afresh at thought of him
So far away in peril; and with fears
Her cheeks turned pale, her eyes grew dim.

'Twas well when grandsire changed his doleful strain
To sailors' songs of 'Homeward bound!'
His listeners' saddened hearts grew light again,
Reviving at the cheerful sound.

They heard the sweetheart's charms sung o'er and o'er;
A glad return from foreign lands;
And how those sailors longed and hoped once more
To stand on Nantucket's sands."

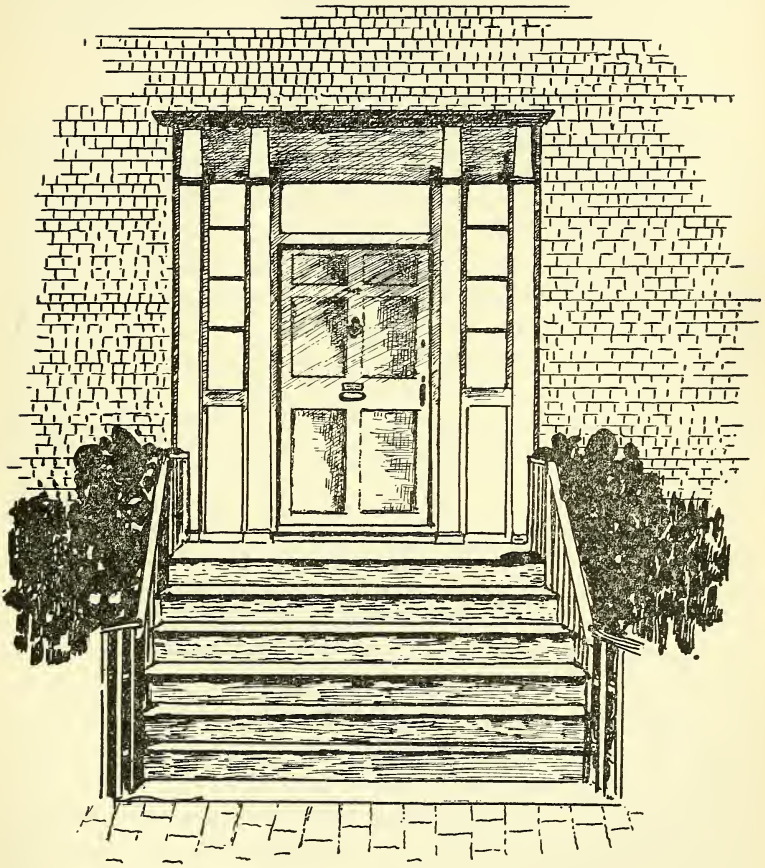


Figure 5.
Picturesque Nantucket Doorway

Chapter 25.

THE QUAKER SOCIETY

Quakerism recognized the right of women to speak in public. It held for social equality and a desire for little of the world's goods, yet it embraced many very wealthy people.

Crèvecoeur (1793) found here numerous citizens holding fortunes of 20,000 pounds. On Nantucket it seemed to be an ideal sect with which to affiliate. Simplicity ruled. There was no employment on the island for lawyers who plea for money, doctors who prescribe for money, or ministers who preach for money. Differences were settled by arbitration. Eunice Paddock, who died in 1900, was the next to the last Nantucket Quaker and Mary Swain Mitchell, deceased 1902, the last.

The tenets of the Quakers were uncompromising. The Quakers abhorred the frivolities and fashions of the world's people. They prescribed to extreme moderation and simplicity. They worshipped plainness, industry and parsimonious economy. A Quaker could marry only a Quaker or suffer disownment. On Nantucket this fostered blood marriages and violations of God's natural law. Why the Quakers tolerated the frightful consequences of these blood marriages is difficult to understand. The discipline here was not common among the Quakers elsewhere. Human nature rebelled against such an unostentatious society. Nevertheless the Quakers of that day deserve our admiration. They respected people of color. They abhorred slavery. Forty-seven of their members were disowned for participating in the Revolutionary War, and twenty-one of them served under John Paul Jones. As early as 1716 the Nantucket Quakers went on record that it was "not agreeable to truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them for a term of life." Elihu

Coleman (1699-1789), a noted Nantucket Quaker elder, was one of the first men in New England to preach and write against slavery. Isaac H. Folger has remembered him well in his poem "Elihu Coleman" in *Quaint Rhymes of Ancient Nantucket*:

On old Nantucket's sunny moors,
An ancient homestead stands,
Faced south like all old settlers' doors
On those historic sands.

Severe simplicity is there,
In every low-ceiled room,
To modern eyes it may appear
Like poverty and gloom.

"Where are its charms?" the visitors
Who see it now, exclaim.
Who was it dwelt within these doors?
Tell us his name and fame."

" 'Twas Elihu Coleman," is replied.
A Quaker preacher he,
One of the first great souls who cried
Shame upon slavery!

To preach such lawless doctrine then
Was boldness beyond bounds.
"No man shall own his brother man!"
Now through the land resounds.

'Twas held a crime in that man's day
To lend a helping hand
To any slave who dared to say,
"I live in Freedom's land."

"Yet suffer, from the bitterest wrongs
And no redress may have.
I toil in chains. A thousand tongues
Announce I am a slave!"

To show that slavery was a blot
Which nothing could efface,
Our Preacher wrote, and spared it not,
The sin, the foul disgrace.

He prayed the sin might be forgiven,
That man who dealt in slaves
Might justice learn from gracious Heaven
And ask the grace which saves.

In turning from the hated past,
By faith he seemed to see,
That Freedom's land should own at last
No son who was not free.

Would he had seen, as we have seen,
The advent of the right!
A century has rolled between;
He died without the sight.

So now we stand within the house
Which his brave life recalls,
And picture how the firelight used
To dance upon the walls.

The fire is gone. No cheerful flame
Lends beautifying grace.
Not so the lustre of the name
Which still adorns the place.

In 1729 Elihu Coleman read before the Nantucket Monthly Meeting his manuscript "A Testimony Against That Anti-

Christian Practice of Making Slaves of Men." This document was published in 1733. The first protest against slavery was written in 1688 by Daniel Francis Pastorius, a Germantown Friend. To both Nantucket and Germantown Friends belongs the honor of being early in the right of a great cause which finally prevailed.

In 1769 a slave belonging to the heirs of William Swain served aboard the whaleship "Friendship" of Nantucket, a William Rotch ship. At the conclusion of the voyage Rotch, a staunch Friend, paid the slave his share of the proceeds of the voyage, but the owners of the slave claimed his lay. A jury in the Court of Common Pleas of Boston brought a verdict in favor of Rotch, who defended the negro; and this was the first emancipation in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Thereafter, all the colored folk were free and allowed their whaleship lays.

A memorable anti-slavery convention was held at Nantucket in August 1841 in the "Big Shop," a house still standing on the northwest corner of Milk and Saratoga Streets. Present on the occasion were Anna Gardner, Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, and Edmund Quincy, all reformers and staunch leaders in the anti-slavery movement, and a young colored man, Frederick Augustus Bailey calling himself Frederick Douglas, a name used to conceal his identity but which he retained throughout his life. He was a runaway slave from Baltimore, Maryland, who settled and married in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he worked as a day laborer. Douglas's first speech in public electrified his audience by the eloquence with which he pleaded for his race and its emancipation from bondage.

Garrison arose and seeing his chance to promote the cause of abolition appealed to his audience with the question, "Have we been listening to a thing, a chattel personal, or to a man?"

"A man, a man," shouted the audience.

Garrison shouted, "Shall such a man be held a slave in a Christian land?"

"No! No!," replied the audience in a tremendous voice that seemed to shake the building.

"Shall such a man ever be sent back to bondage from the free soil of old Massachusetts?"

With a tremendous roar the whole assembly sprang to its feet and continued shouting, "No! No!" and Garrison's voice was drowned in enthusiastic responses.

Garrison's paper, "The Liberator," issued in Boston beginning January 1, 1831, contributed greatly to the freedom of the slaves. His paper attracted attention in the North and South. Hundreds of people threatened Garrison's life. He was indicted for sedition on October 21, 1835, and seized by a mob and dragged at a rope's end through the streets of Boston. This episode determined Wendell Phillips' future, and he became a zealous worker in the American Anti-Slavery Society, which he refused to dissolve until full suffrage for the negro and the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 were accomplished.

A bronze tablet in the New Bedford Free Public Library bears the inscription

In Memory of
Frederick Douglas
1817-1895
Slave — Abolitionist
Orator — Statesman
Erected by the Citizens of New Bedford

This son of a Negro slave mother held many public offices; the last one was that of United States minister to Haiti in 1889. He died in Washington, D.C., February 20, 1895. The talent which he revealed in his momentous lecture at Nantucket established his future.

The Quakers were repugnant to fighting and war, yet the whale fishery, which they dominated, called for their best

fighting qualities. These Quakers launched a great navy of whaleships and engaged in a mighty war of extermination with the most monstrous animal of the sea, the biggest of all big game. Two stanzas from the poem *Square-Toed Princes** are most appropriate.

From Baffin's Bay and Davis Strait
To the Serpent of the South,
They had the whale-gaff in the fist
And Scripture in the mouth.

They brought home ambergris and oil
In hogsheads and in tierces
And knelt down on their pine board floors
To thank God for His mercies.

Here are sentiments on the same subject in stanzas from "Musings" by G. H. Folger compiled with other poems by Lucy Coffin Starbuck in 1853:

They were a race of giant souls,
Of stout and stalwart forms;
In boyhood rocked upon the waves;
And cradled in the storms.

They bear our country's flag aloft,
In battle and in breeze,
The first to show its rebel stars
Within Old England's Seas.

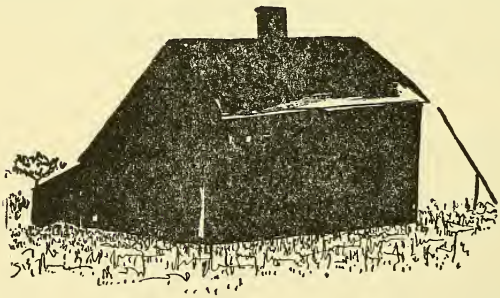
The frozen waves of Labrador
Bore witness to their toil
And Afric's equinoctial heat
But served to try their oil.

* Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *Ballads of Square-toed Americans,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

No seas their fisheries did not vex
No bay, nor river's mouth;
The North Star shone above their way,
And the Serpent of the South.

By toil and industry they carved
A name on history's page,
Which shines as bright as aught appears
Within the present age.

No brother's blood pollutes their hands,
No murders on their souls
Their battlefield was on the deep,
Its monsters were their foes.



Chapter 26

A NANTUCKET QUAKER MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Even the marriage ceremony is marked with great simplicity, occurring only after the contracting parties have exhibited their intentions to the satisfaction of the meeting. On January 30, 1776, Barzillai Folger, Jr., son of Barzillai and Phebe (Coleman), and Miram Gardner, daughter of Stephen and Jemima (Worth), were united by marriage according to the manner of the Society of Friends. Their marriage contract reads as follows:

WHEREAS Barzillai Folger, son of Barzillai Folger of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and Phebe his Wife; and Miriam Gardner, daughter of Stephen Gardner of Sherborn aforesaid and Jemima his Wife;

HAVING DECLARED their intentions of taking each other in Marriage before several publick Meetings of the People called Quakers in Sherborn aforesaid, according to the good order used among them, and proceeding therein after deliberate Consideration thereof, (with Regard unto the righteous Law of God in that Case,) they also appearing clear of all others and having Consent of Parents and others concerned, were allowed by the said Meetings.

NOW these are to certify to all whom it may concern, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions this thirtieth Day of the first Month called January in the year according to the Christian Account One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Six, they the said Barzillai Folger and Miriam Gardner appeared in publick Assembly of the aforesaid People met together at their publick meeting House in

Sherborn aforesaid; And in a solemn manner he, the said Barzillai Folger, taking the said Miriam Gardner by the Hand, did openly declare as followeth:

Friends, I desire you to be my Witnesses that I take this my Friend, Miriam Gardner, to be my wife, promising by the Lord's Assistance to be unto her a true and loving Husband until it shall please God by Death to separate us; and then and there in the said Assembly the said Miriam Gardner did in the manner declare as followeth,

Friends, I desire you to be my witnesses that I take this, my Friend Barzillai Folger, to be my Husband, promising by the Lord's Assistance to be unto him a true and loving wife until it shall please God by Death to separate us.

And as a further Confirmation thereof the said Barzillai and Miriam Folger did then and there to these Presents set their Hands, she according to the Customs of Marriage, assuming the name of her Husband.

Signed Barzillai Folger, Jr.
Miriam Folger

And we whose Names are hereunto subscribed, being present among others at the Solemnizing of their said Marriage and Subscription in manner aforesaid as Witnesses, hereunto have also to these Presents subscribed our Names the Day and Year above Written.

* * * * *

Barzillai Folger	Nathan Folger	Mary Gardner
Paul Paddock	Christopher Folger	Ruth Jenkins
Stephen Gardner	Abishai Folger Jr.	Anne Paddock
Joseph Jenkins	Silvanus Coffin	Mary Gardner
Jethro Folger	Seth Coleman	Rachel Coleman
Jabez Macy	Tristram Gardner	Susanna Folger
George Swain	David Rand	Christopher Clarke
Nathaniel Coleman		Elizabeth Folger

Elihu Coleman
Barnabas Coleman
William Gardner
Gilbert Folger
Jethro Coffin
Benjamin Barnard

Jemima Gardner
Judith Barnard
Mary Gardner
Hannah Gardner
Kezia Gardner

Recorded in Friends 2nd Book of
Records of Marriage Certificates in
Sherborn on the Island of Nantucket p. 130

By Joseph Marshall, Clerk

* * * * *

Barzillai Folger m. Miriam Gardner (Nantucket Town Records, Bk. I, p. 163, 1803).

* * * * *

Four children were born to Barzillai Jr. and Miriam. They were Mary, Jemima, Judith and Benjamin Franklin. Benjamin, born on April 11, 1777, was their first child. The mother died April 13, 1804. In March of 1805 Barzillai Jr., at the age of sixty-three, married Miriam Worth Gardner, daughter of John Worth and Mary (Gardner), age forty-eight. Miriam was the widow of Solomon Gardner, Jr., born 1759, son of Solomon and Mary (Pollard), by her first marriage on July 24, 1777. Barzillai Jr. died September 17, 1831, age eighty-nine, and Miriam, his second wife, died on July 8, 1837, age eighty years.

Benjamin Franklin Folger, unmarried, was locally renowned for genealogical knowledge and antiquarian lore. He lived to be an old hermit, abiding in his last years in a dingy room in Siasconset, where he died in 1856, age 79 years. He maintained a collection of ancient documents which have been acquired by the Nantucket Historical Association. Siasconset then was a settlement of some fifty little houses, mostly empty, having increased by twenty houses since 1801 when the Honorable Josiah Quincy visited and described the village. Folger occupied himself making genealogical charts for those who would pay for them. His house was filthy in

his last years, and in 1852, while he was away, some of the townsmen with the help of Captain Edward W. Gardiner cleaned his house. From his room they removed three barrels of dirt and some precious manuscripts and documents. Henry David Thoreau of Concord visited Nantucket and Siasconset in 1854, and we refer to his account of his visit for this characterizaton of Folger.

More than one-sixth of the crew of 131 of the American privateer Ranger serving under John Paul Jones during the Revolutionary War were Nantucket men, and of this crew Jones said, "It is the best crew I have ever seen, and, I believe, the best afloat." The Ranger sailed from the Isle of Shoals on November 1, 1777, and arrived at Nantes, France, on December 2, 1777. Among the crew were twenty-one Nantucket boys including Barzillai Folger. Later he commanded the brig Fox on a whaling voyage in 1778 returning in 1789 and sailing again on September 1, 1789.

Chapter 27

RISE OF OTHER RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

In the census of 1719 there were 721 whites on Nantucket or approximately 100 families. In 1755 the population was nearly 3,000, of which there were nearly 1,500 religious Friends. Worth (1896) stated that the population in 1794 was 4,600, and nearly half of that number attended Friends meetings. Another authority reported 577 houses, 4,690 inhabitants, and no slaves in the last decade of the 18th Century. Of this population two thirds were Quakers, and one third Presbyterians and "nothingarians." The membership list of the First Congregational Society in the last quarter of the 18th Century showed but seventy-two members. In 1765 there were forty-seven pew holders. In 1799 the Methodists organized under the influence of Reverend Jesse Lee, Reverend Joseph Snelling, and Reverend George Cannon, all veteran "war horses" of the Methodist denomination, and on November 15, 1797, the funeral service for Anna Paddock Gardner, first wife of Francis, was the first officiated by a Methodist clergyman, the Reverend William Beauchamp. Betsy Crosby Folger, who died on July 5, 1800, was the first death among members of the Methodist society.

In 1829 Nantucket had seven houses of religious worship as follows:

Presbyterian (First Congregational Church)
Arminian (Wesleyan Methodist; Methodist Episcopal; The Chapel)
Universalist
Friends (2)
First Methodist (Teazer)
African
Second Congregational (Unitarian)

The organization of other denominations and the building of more churches followed in later years. Some of them enjoyed only a brief society. These were as follows:

Protestant Episcopal or Trinity Church 1838
First Baptist Church 1840
African York Street Baptist Church 1831, later the Pleasant Street Baptist Church 1848
People's Baptist Church
Roman Catholic Church
African or Zion Methodist Episcopal Church
Reformed Methodist Episcopal Church
Mission. Orange Street 1866

In 1829 there were two Friends Meeting Houses one at Main and Pleasant Streets, moved there in 1790 from Main and Saratoga Streets, and the other on Broad Street. Both meetings combined in 1829 and in 1833 they met in their new Fair Street Meeting House. The second Methodist church known in early times as the "Chapel", at Liberty and Center Streets, was built in 1823. The Parthenon front was added in 1840. The First Methodist Church known as the Teazer church and situated at Lyon and Fair Streets was dedicated on January 1, 1800. The Protestant Episcopal or Trinity Church was built on Broad Street in 1838 and destroyed by the great fire eight years later. The new building on Fair Street was erected in 1849 as St. Paul's Church.

The Second or new South Congregational Society on Orange Street, now the Unitarian Society, was organized in 1809. The dedication service took place on November 12, 1809, by the Reverend Seth F. Swift. Several reasons have been advanced to account for the separation of the parish, the most logical one being that the North or First Congregational Church was inconveniently situated for the people on the south side of the town. The families that withdrew lived near Main Street or further south. The organization of the South Church deprived the North Church of much of its wealth and influence. It is probable that the wealthy men

in the church also may have desired more influence than the church and minister were willing to concede. Separation was not due to any doctrinal controversy, and the minority remaining with the North Church retained possession of the church property. The Second Church at first was thoroughly orthodox, and in a later generation the founders were referred to as "blue Presbyterians." In 1837 the church adopted a broad and liberal creed upon a Unitarian basis following the First Parish Church (Unitarian) in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The first town clock was placed in the tower of the church in January 1823, and after a half century it was replaced by one from Boston in 1881, the gift of William Hadwen Starbuck. The bell in the tower was obtained by Captain Charles Clasby in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1812 and was brought to Nantucket by Captain Thomas Cary. It weighs 1,575 pounds and was rung for the first tme on December 18, 1815. Nantucket has maintained the custom of ringing the bell at 7:00 A.M., 12:00 noon and 9:00 P.M. The townspeople's daily life is regulated by the nine o'clock bell, that is after the summer season, and the stores close and the streets become deserted. This is the town curfew.

Inscribed in bold relief on its outer surface are words in Portuguese translated:

"To the good Jesus of the Mountain, the devotees of Lisbon direct their prayers, offering Him one complete set of six bells, to call the people and adore Him in His Sanctuary. Made by Jose Domingos da Costa in Lisbon in the year 1810."

Chapter 28.

EPISODES OF THE SCHOOLS

A. Private Schools

In 1716 the Nantucket annual town meeting voted to hire Eleazer Folger as schoolmaster for one year at three pounds of current money. The acts of the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay of 1642-43 required every township with fifty or more householders to provide a teacher to teach reading and writing. The wages were paid by the parents or by the inhabitants in general. However, after 1716 and for more than 100 years there were no teachers employed by the town. The education of the children was left to private schools and private tutoring. There were separate schools for boys and girls. The boys' schools were taught by men, and the children's and girls' schools by women who sought this small income for their living. Most of the women were widows. The individuality and the personality of the teachers determined the choice of the school and its success.

Reverend Timothy White, a missionary from Boston and the island's first clergyman, engaged in private teaching from 1732-1748, for which he received food and clothing for his family and small earnings, which in addition to his meager wages as clergyman for the Presbyterians were inadequate to support his wife Susanna Gardner (daughter of Captain John) and their thirteen children. Reverend Bezaleel Shaw and Reverend James Gurney, who followed White, also found it expedient to teach school. The private schools grew in number and variety, and they flourished. Some of them were noted for excellence in the teaching of mathematics and languages. The private school system appeared to reach its perfection with the incorporation of the

Academy, whose building was erected in 1800 on a site since known as Academy Hill.

History records the cent schools at Nantucket. These were nursery schools fashioned after the English dame schools. Children came with a cent for tuition for each session or the pay was some article of furniture or food. The children were taught reading, writing, recitation, spelling, simple arithmetic, and the importance of honesty, respect, and kindness. The bill for tuition was usually rendered quarterly, as for example:

4 mo. 4th, 1808. Moses Joy Dr. to Sarah Russell

To teaching David 1 quarter	2.17
Fireing and Ink	.59
	2.76

Nantucket 4m. 4th, 1808.
Received pay Sarah Russell

There were evening schools for the young men who during the long hours of the day were employed in the various occupations associated with whaling. For them instruction was provided in ship building, navigation, drafting, cooperage, and gauging. The Quakers operated their own monthly meeting schools. Education was available to those families who could afford to pay for it. For the colored children education was provided by charity and church missionary funds. For the orphaned and destitute children some elementary education was provided by public charity. These were the charity schools peculiar to Nantucket and a rather incredible kind of education for young people.

An example of such a school was the Fragment School, which was conceived and organized by a small group of young women belonging principally to the Society of Friends from a deep feeling of the need of education for the poor children. This occurred in 1814 in the midst of war with England at a period of great suffering by the people. The women took turns teaching for one month during the warm season of the year, for the school could not afford a fire. The

school began with thirty pupils. The children were so poorly clad that appeals were made to the townspeople, and they contributed articles and fragments of every kind of cloth to clothe the destitute little ones and hence the name Fragment School. Subsequently a society was formed to sew and to receive benevolences, and it was called the Fragment Society. It grew and contributed to the needs of the poor from 1814-1836 when it merged with other benevolent societies to form a single organization designated, The Ladies' Howard Society.

Into this remote land of Quakers and world's people where elementary schooling was provided only for the poor under charitable auspices came Cyrus Pearce (Peirce), a native son of Waltham, Massachusetts, and then fresh from Harvard College, class of 1810, to teach private school. One of his pupils was Harriet Coffin, whom he married on April 1, 1816. Her father William Coffin was a great Nantucket antiquarian and a most indefatigable geneaologist who had gathered by vast and persevering labor the family statistics of every household in Nantucket. This marriage to a fair Coffin cemented Peirce's attachment to Nantucket. In a later time his leadership was very helpful and influential in shaping Nantucket's public school education. The town was not yet prepared to adopt it. From 1818 to 1830 Reverend Cyrus Peirce remained "off island" ministering to a church in North Reading and teaching school in North Andover, Massachusetts.

B. Struggle for Public Schools

The free school system supported by public funds and universal in the rest of Massachusetts furnished instruction to children of all classes. Although the population of Nantucket early in the 19th century approximated 7,000 people, it disregarded the state laws with respect to free schools for all. By reason of the town and county being one and her isolated maritime position, Nantucket was inclined toward independency and to exercise mild exemptions from the

state statutes, which were tolerated more or less by the state government at Boston.

Samuel Haynes Jenks came to Nantucket in May 1817 to attend the funeral services of his second deceased wife Lydia A. Stephens. Jenks had close family ties with Nantucket. He was Boston born (1789) and educated under its free school system, and in the Nantucket Weekly Magazine of July 1, 1817, he wrote a vigorous communication "Quidam" in advocacy of free public schools. In September 1818 he married the third time to Eliza Williams ,his first wife's sister, and in 1819 they moved to Nantucket. He was widowed by her death in August 1822. By his fourth marriage to Martha W. Coffin in January 1823, daughter of William Coffin and Deborah Pinkham, he became a brother-in-law to Cyrus Peirce. Jenks and others, notably Charles Bunker, then a young lawyer, labored earnestly to arouse the townspeople to a sense of their duty and liability. He was met with repeated rebuffs, and his agitation for public schools was denounced as a "Boston Notion." The townspeople denounced him as an "officious, intermeddling stranger and coof."*

The private and charity schools were functioning acceptably in the opinion of the town government, and the Quakers felt that the charity school was "good enough" for those who could not afford private school.

Jenks' invectives against the opposition to free public school education carried some measure. An investigating committee appointed to study the situation reported April 25, 1818, that 300 children from three to fourteen years of age and of parents in dire circumstances were without schooling. Subsequently on May 9 the annual town meeting voted $1,000 to finance four free schools of fifty children

*According to English literary usage, i.e., Allan Ramsay, (1724), Robert Burns (1795), and Margaret Oliphant (1858), a coof is a dull spiritless fellow; one somewhat obtuse in sense and sensibility. On Nantucket it was applied originally to Cape Codders and later more generally to everybody in "coofdom" or off-island.

each directed by a school committee of seven. Among the committee was William Coffin. On May 16 the complexion of the town meeting changed. The report of the special investigating committee on schools was reconsidered, and "free (publick)" was struck from the report. In April 1819 after one year of free schools for 200 children, costing the town $1,014.38, the system was abandoned. Another investigating committee was selected to study the question further, comprising, among others, Zenas Coffin, wealthy shipowner, and Aaron Mitchel, advocate of private schools. This committee recommended an appropriation of $550.00, and all but $100 to be paid to the Fragment Society, a local charitable institution engaged in schooling destitute children and other charitable enterprises. The report proposed a sum of $100 to support a school for boys over ten years of age under the jurisdiction of the school committee. It was further recommended that the school committee provide the annual town meeting with a list of pupils receiving education at the town's expense.

The school committee, now being restricted by the action of the town meeting to use money raised by taxation for the exclusive benefit of children from families in indigent circumstances, proposed that the town allocate funds to the Fragment Society for the education of fifty poor children. The Society would then use its own funds to keep the children decently clad and for other charitable purposes. In addition it was recommended to place fifty to one hundred girls in nine private schools. Also the establishment of two schools for ninety boys was recommended.

Except for Gilbert Coffin the complexion of the school committee changed, and at the annual town meeting April 28, 1821, the committee reported the instruction of 125 children at a cost of $387.81 of which thirty children were schooled by the Fragment Society. There was an unexpended balance of $12.53. The committee was so well pleased with this method of public supported education of the needy that it recommended the system to the continued patronage of

the town. An appropriation of $400.00 for the ensuing year was requested and authorized.

Samuel H. Jenks fought hard for free public schools. On October 15, 1822, he became editor of the "Inquirer," the local newspaper. Here he had the opportunity to publicize his sentiments for the establishment of free schools. Partisan feeling on the subject was intense, and Jenks was buffeted around rather rudely even being denied the opportunity to speak in public, which led him to choose as the motto for his paper "Quid autem si vox libera non sit, liberum esse?" What is liberty without freedom of speech?

The African School for colored children was established in 1823 under the auspices of Deacon Wilson Rawson. This was also a charity school. At this time the education of the white and colored children was debated pro and con with the same fierceness as the free school issue. It was customary for the school committee to attend the public examination of the schools in a body, but the records show that the committee usually ignored the examination of the African School. The climax was reached in 1843 when a colored girl, Eunice F. Ross, was refused admission to the Nantucket High School.

C. Admiral Isaac Coffin Lancasterian School

In 1826 Sir Isaac Coffin, admiral in the British Navy in Colonial times and a lineal descendent of the celebrated patriarch, Tristram, line of James, and Boston born came in his retired old age to visit the land of his birth and to Nantucket, then a large community with no public schools, to investigate what he might do for his Coffin kin to cause his name to be remembered.

On the occasion of Admiral Coffin's visit to Nantucket, Samuel Haynes Jenks, by wise counsel, succeeded in encouraging him to establish and endow a free school that might benefit his numerous kinsfolk, then numbering one-half the population of the island, and their greatful posterity. In February 1827 the General Court of the Common-

wealth of Massachusetts granted a charter to the Admiral Isaac Coffin Lancasterian School, incorporated "for the purpose of promoting decency, good order, and morality, and of giving a good English education to the youth who are descendents of the late Tristram Coffin." A legislative amendment struck the "Sir" from the name. There were six trustees, and all of them were Coffins. The admiral gave a wooden school house, which opened for instruction in 1827, and an endowment of 5,833 pounds sterling. At this time there were between 500 and 600 children between seven and fourteen years of age who could trace a lineal or collateral relative to Tristram, but the number of pupils was limited to one hundred.

For a time the school operated the brig Clio, in command of Lieutenant Alexander Bunker Pinkham, for instruction in maritime science and navigation and to make master mariners of the Coffin boys.

The establishment of this school was a victory for Samuel Haynes Jenks and for free schools in a community disposed to a charity school system. Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin's philanthropy for schooling master mariners in the former American Colonies of Great Britain and his strong attachment to his native country was resented by the King's ministers, and it cost him a peerage, the Earl of Magdalen, in the British House of Lords.

Sir Isaac died in Cheltenham, England, in 1839, age 80 years.

D. The Crisis and Climax

The money powered junto on the island had won over Jenks and his followers, but in 1826 the situation came to a head by criminal process against the town beginning with a complaint to the Attorney General of Massachusetts, Honorable Perez Morton, drawn up by Samuel H. Jenks, M. Pinkham, and the Honorable Charles Bunker. The grand jury, sitting at Nantucket in July 1826, issued a bill of indictment against the town, and the case was called for hear-

ing before the July term of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court (1827) sitting at Nantucket.

The state legislature at Boston, session of 1826-27, revised the school laws in the act of March 10, 1827. It provided heavy penalties for violations. The Nantucket town meeting promptly set up a public school system with an appropriation of $2500 and directed by a vigorous school committee of twelve members. There was no need to press the indictment, and it stopped. Thus the public school system on Nantucket made a new beginning in 1827 with two schools, one taught by William Mitchell and the other by Nathaniel and Obed Barney. There were about 350 pupils, and the white and colored children were segregated.

The class rooms at first were small, and the parents complained that too much standing was required; but those in favor countered that the pupils stood no longer than they stood for prayer in church, and nobody died from too much prayer.

Samuel Haynes Jenks, distinguished editor of the Nantucket "Inquirer," sold his paper in 1828 and left the island. He returned in 1835 to resume his newspaper work. He and Charles Bunker and a hopeles minority labored hard for public schools, and they won. Jenks never swerved in purpose. He gave his life's effort to three noble accomplishments, free schools in Nantucket, the abolishment of imprisonment for debt in Massachusetts, and a girl's high school in Boston. All he sought was success, and in all these efforts he lived to see their accomplishment. Although not a native, Jenks by identifying himself with all that concerned the islands' well being and prosperity is worthy of a place among its distinguished and honorable men and women.

In 1831 Cyrus Peirce returned to Nantucket to engage in private teaching, which he regarded as a more congenial profession than the ministry, and in 1832 he opened a college preparatory school for boys and girls in his home. He took an active interest in the advancement of the public

schools and in the movement to grade the schools in regular succession of primary, intermediate grammar, and high. His work brought him in contact with the Honorable Horace Mann, member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and great exponent of legislation for all phases of public welfare.

In May 1836 the schools were North Grammar, West Primary, North Primary, Bear Street Primary, South Grammar, and South Primary. In 1850 there were twelve public schools, thirty-one teachers, and about 1200 pupils. Nantucket had become a notable example of remarkable progress in public school education in Massachusetts. The first high school class to be awarded diplomas graduated in 1857. The brick building on Winter Street was erected to house the Coffin School in 1852-53. It was occupied in 1854 with 230 pupils taught by William Coffin Jr. and Miss Meach. The school received further endowments, and eventually all were admitted on the payment of a small tuition fee. As the population and wealth of the island declined and the usefulness and efficiency of the public schools expanded, there was not sufficient support and demand for an academy whose work was essentially a duplication of the public schools, and it closed in 1898. Also the Coffins had become so dispersed that in order to maintain the usefulness of the building the trustees in 1903 approved of its use for a manual training school as an adjunct to the Nantucket public school system, and in 1941 it became a vocational school jointly supported by state and town.

Thus originated the public school system at Nantucket. Now Nantucket has three public schools, twenty-seven teachers, 564 pupils, and a population of about 3000 people.

E. Cyrus Peirce and the First Normal School

The Massachusetts State Board of Education of eight members was created in April 1837, and Horace Mann, who, as president of the Massachusetts Senate signed the act, was named its first secretary in June. In October, Horace

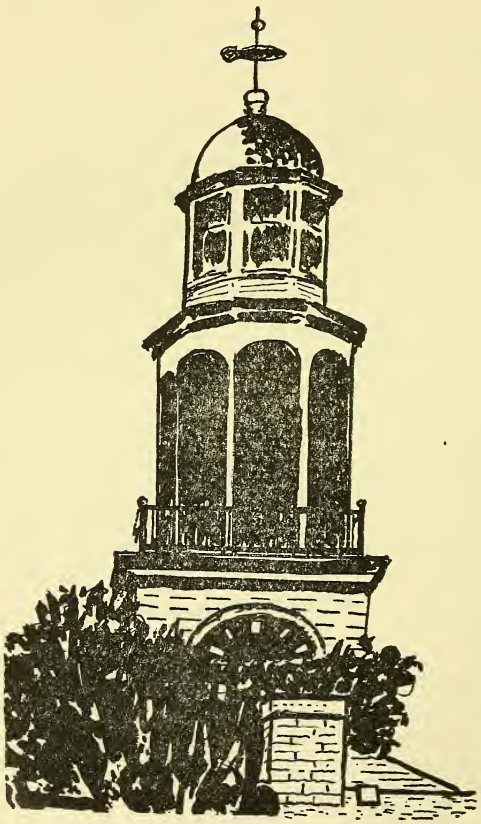
Mann attended the first conference of Nantucket school teachers at Nantucket and delivered an eloquent address on the subject of "Education and Free Schools." On this visit he and Cryus Peirce, his host, formed a strong friendship. The townspeople were so impressed by the eloquence of Mann's address and his ideas on education that he was obliged to deliver his address a second time before departing from the island. The town voted to add a high school, and Cyrus Peirce was named its first principal. It opened on April 16, 1838 with fifty-nine students.

The need for good teachers was acute, and although the idea of normal schools originated with Horace Mann, it was Cyrus Peirce who presented several resolutions at these meetings, of which one was particularly significant as follows: "That without questioning the character of the highly respectable and useful men engaged in education we believe that there is a lamentable deficiency of well qualified teachers and that this deficiency is not likely to be supplied without the establishment of normal schools to teach teachers how to teach."

"That a petition be presented from the town to the General Court, that our representative be instructed to urge the same on the consideration of the legislature."

On April 19, 1838, while the bells were ringing a tribute to the American patriots who fired "the shot that was heard round the world" and that made the green at Lexington, Massachusetts, a hallowed spot, Governor Everett signed the bill authorizing the establishment of the first teachers' seminaries or normal schools in America. The first one "for females only" was opened at Lexington, July 3, 1839. Horace Mann chose Cyrus Peirce to direct this great experiment. The school continued in Lexington until 1844, then was transferred to West Newton, and in 1853 to South Framingham. It is now the Framingham State Teachers' College. "Had it not been for Mr. Cyrus Peirce, I consider that the cause of normal schools would have failed or have

been postponed for an indefinite period." So spoke Horace Mann. Nantucket has historical significance and pride in this great crusade for adequate teachers' colleges, and Nantucket did nobly to honor Cyrus Peirce by dedicating its Cyrus Peirce School in his memory for posterity.



Chapter 29

THE QUAISE ASYLUM

At 2 o'clock in the morning of February 21, 1844, on Wednesday, the buildings on the Quaise Farm, also known as the Poor Farm or the Quaise Asylum, caught fire and were totally destroyed. Ten of the inmates, five men and five women, were burned to death. This event, according to Alexander Starbuck (*History of Nantucket,* 1924) was more calamitous in its effect on human life than any other in the previous history of the island. At this time there were fifty-nine occupants of the asylum in addition to the family of the keeper, Captain Timothy Baker. The ten victims of the fire were:

Bowen, Lydia. d. of Henry Folger and Polly Hazell, and wife of James Bowen; age 29.

Beebe, Sophia, "idiot". d. Nathan Beebe and Elizabeth. Age 57.

Cathcart, Jonathan, h. of Peggy Gaul, age 79.

Davis, Abigail, w. of Benjamin Davis, formerly w. of Silas Grew, formerly w. Jeremiah Driskill, d. of Benjamin Clark and Abigail (Mooers). Age 89.

Davis, Wealthy. d. Benjamin Davis and Abigail (Clark) (Driskill) Grew. Age 53

Holmes, William. h. Lucretia (Swazey) Wilbur, son of William and Lydia (Burrage). Age 60.

Hutchinson, William. No record.

Jenkins, Paul. son of William and Dinah (Starbuck). Age 66.

Hull, Thomas, h. Mary (Ames), son of Thomas and Phebe (Folger). Age 67.

Jones, Phebe, d. John and Hepsibah (Dagget). Age 81.

The Quaise farm was bought by the town in April 1822, and four buildings for the poor and unfortunate were erected. A fifth building, House of Correction and Industry, was built in 1826. The institution was rebuilt after the fire on the same site in 1854, and in 1854 the Quaise farm was sold. The Asylum building was moved in sections to Organge Street, where it became "Our Island Home" officially the Town Infirmary. The House of Correction and Industry was moved to a site next to the Old Gaol, a prison for recalcitrant captives and criminals on upper Main Street, where it still stands.

Incidentally, the Old Gaol built in 1805 has been restored and opened to the public. Restoration was completed with the return to the island in April 1948, from Daytona Beach, Florida, of the original lock weighing twenty-two pounds and the key measuring nine and one-half inches long. It was removed and dispatched off-island to Connecticut with a box of fish by Joseph B. Macy in 1867, thence to Pennsylvania and Florida. The Old Gaol, in its time, was a comparatively useless affair for few persons were ever confined there. In the ten years from 1872 to 1882, only fifteen offenders were committed there.

The number and site of the buildings comprising the Quaise Asylum are shown on J. Prescott's *Map of the Town of Nantucket, County of Nantucket,* 1831. The original Poor Farm was the country home of Mark Coffin, born October 16, 1768, the son of Shubael Coffin and Mary Mitchell, and descendent of Tristram from James. Misfortune compelled him to sell his summer homestead at Quaise. Mark's first wife, Judith Hussey, was a Public Friend, belonging to Nantucket. His second wife, Sarah Olney, came from Providence, Rhode Island. Mark Coffin was a schoolteacher, author, and proprietor of a bookstore in town, but he became poor. He died October 2, 1839, age 71 years, while an inmate of the Poor Farm, once his home. His remains lie in the lonely Asylum burial ground, a

paupers' graveyard some 200 feet south of the present east-west highway. Here in this paupers' cemetery lie the remains of other unclaimed, deceased inmates of the asylum. This burial plot is densely covered with waving beard grass, *Andropogon scoparius*. It is without a single marker to identify the site of any of the graves.

The corners of the burial ground are 50 feet apart and are marked by stone posts installed by James H. Gibbs, deceased February 24, 1940, at the age of 90 years. The cemetery borders the north side of the Old Polpis Road on a little rising stretch of ground. Now the modern highway is some 200 feet north of the cemetery, the two separated by a stretch of low ground. It is regrettable that none of the Nantucket maps shows the site of this lonely, forgotten cemetery. Were it not for the interest of the late James H. Gibbs, the site of this graveyard probably would have been lost to posterity.

Chapter 30

WHALING AND PROSPERITY

The Nantucketers were the first to have an intimate knowledge of the Gulf Stream. One of them, Captain Timothy Folger, was the first to map it. They discovered the whaling grounds and many of the Pacific Islands. Thirty of the islands and reefs are named after Nantucket captains and merchants, and these and all the rest of the islands of the seas were household words in every family. They carried on a brisk trade with distant countries, taking whale oil, sperm candles, soap and sealskins, and bringing lumber, textiles, and farm implements. Here was a flourishing, industrious, and independent commonwealth. The houses were furnished with rich mahogany furniture, and the finest chinaware was in abundance.

"The streets are sandy and they run in every direction. When you go out walking you return with shoes full of dirt although some of the streets have sidewalks. The houses set any way. Travel over the rutted roads is mostly in a calash, a two wheel open box wagon and standing mostly to soften the jolting. It is good fun once in a while but such exercise is not desirable often. You never saw anything like the place." So wrote Grandma Mary Cushing Edes in 1835 to her sister Charlotte C. Cushing in Dorchester up by Boston.

In 1840, the island had seventy whale ships, a property of $6,000,000., population of 9,712, five wharves, ten rope walks, thirty-six candle factories, sail lofts, cooper shops, boat and blacksmith shops, and shipyards. Hundreds of men were employed on the island making casks, irons, ropes, and other whaling gear and fitting ships. The rest of the population was divided into three parts: those away on a voyage, those returning, and those getting ready for

the next trip. Prosperity was so closely identified with whaling and a maritime life that a Nantucket wife asked no better fortune than "a clean hearth and a husband at sea." One Nantucket street alone comprised the residences of one hundred sea captains. Nantucket was represented in the State Legislature at Boston by nine representatives and one senator, and in the United States House of Representatives by one Congressman. This was Nantucket's Golden Age. There was no place in the world where whaling vessels could be fitted for sea to so much advantage as at Nantucket. From long experience and perseverance the people of this place became the most expert and knowing in the whale fishery of any people on earth. The merchants bent their whole attention to this branch of labor, reduced every expense, and brought all their supplies to the nicest point of saving. Industry and frugality were virtues; idleness, a vice.

Daniel Webster, speaking in the United States Senate in 1828, was struck by these noble virtues:

"Nantucket itself is a very striking and peculiar portion of the National interest. There is a population of eight or nine thousand persons, living here in the sea, adding largely every year to the National wealth by the boldest and most persevering industry."

The chief products of the Nantucket whale fishery were sperm and whale oil, whale bone, and ambergris. Sperm oil, obtained from the sperm whale or cachalot, was used chiefly in the manufacture of sperm candles and refined oils for lubricating purposes. The sperm whale is the largest of the toothed whales and the most valuable. It has the richest kind of oily fluid in a cavity in the top of its blunt head. This is the source of spermaceti, a whitish crystalline substance which was used in making candles, ointments and cosmetics. The blubber of the whale, a thick layer of fat beneath the skin, was the source of body oil. This was used essentially as an illuminant in whale oil lamps, and after

Nantucket's time it found use in the manufacture of heavy lubricating oils, soaps, glycerine, and in leather tanning. Whalebone was used for making handles of various kinds, stays in corsets, and umbrella ribs, but for these purposes its place was taken by flexible steel, celluloid, and similar materials.

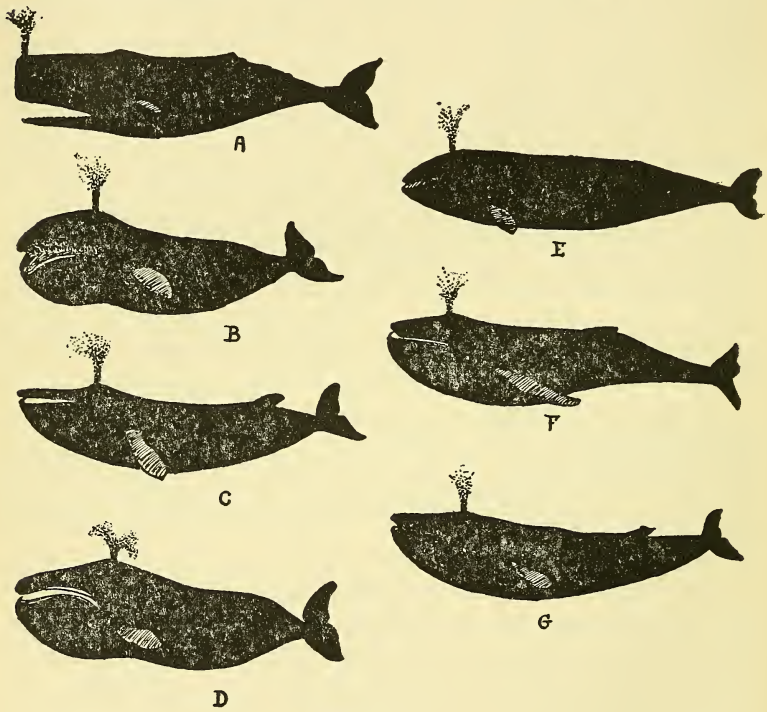


Figure 6.

There are many kinds of whales. Here are just a few of them. A. Sperm Whale. B. Bowhead. C. Finback. D. Pacific right whale. E. California Gray Whale. F. North Pacific Humpback. G. Sulphur Bottom.

Whalebone is not bone as commonly understood but a horny outgrowth from the skin hanging from the mouth of the toothless whalebone or baleen whales. In the Arctic

right or bowhead whales the whalebones are ten to fourteen feet long, and there are as many as 500 in a single animal. The right whale has no hump. The tongue will make a ton of oil. He has two spouts and makes a forked spout which distinguishes him from other whales at a distance. James Fenimore Cooper noted the right whale's characteristics in *The Pilot*:

'No, Sir, 'tis a Right Whale,' answered Tom; 'I saw his spout; he threw up a pair of as pretty rainbows as a Christian would wish to look at. He's a raal oil-butt, that fellow!'

Other whalebone whales are the New Zealand right whale, the fin whale, the hump back, and the California gray whale. The blue or sulphur bottom whale, a species of fin whales, is the largest animal in existence. In general the price of whalebone was too low for our Nantucket whalemen to be encumbered with it. Before the Revolutionary War it brought at times a dollar a pound. After the war it brought from six to ten cents. After 1850 the Nantucket whalers were more interested in bone. The ship Three Brothers, Captain C. E. Cleaveland, in 1859 sent home from the Pacific 31,000 pounds of whalebone, the largest quantity ever brought into Nantucket from one voyage. The ship Massachusetts from Nantucket brought to mainland ports 38,000 pounds in 1851, 40,300 pounds in 1853 and sent home 15,500 pounds in 1856, and 43,000 in 1860 from the Pacific Ocean. In this period there was a good demand for bone.

Ambergris or "ambergrease" was the rarest and most valuable product of the whale, usually bringing around $30 per pound. It is a concretion of the intestine of the sperm whale resulting from disease. Occasionally it killed the whale by clogging the intestine, and sometimes it was ejected. The ship Watchman of Nantucket, Captain Charles W. Hussey, brought 800 pounds or 4 barrels in 1858, the largest amount ever brought into port by a whaler. This sold for $10,000. Ambergris was in great demand as a base in the making of fine perfumeries.

Some of the Nantucket ships went out on sealing expeditions returning with thousands of seal skins, and around the year 1800 several of the ships came in full of elephant oil tried from the elephant seal, a hideous creature up to 30 feet in length.

The narwhal (the nostril or unicorn whale) is a toothed whale, an Arctic species related to the sperm whale. The male has a tusk protruding five to ten feet forward from its jaw, which furnished ivory of commercial value.

No animal in history has exceeded the whale in size. The large blue or sulphur bottom whales weigh around ninety tons. Their bulk is equal to one hundred oxen, and in Japan where whale meat is used as food one whale furnishes about 120,000 steaks. These whales grow to one hundred feet in length, more or less, and the jaws are up to twenty feet long and open thirty feet wide. The head weighs up to thirty tons and measures up to thirty-five feet in circumference. The mouth is as big as a room twenty feet long, fifteen feet high, and nine feet at the bottom and 2 feet wide at the top. The tongue of a right whale, so called because this was the right kind of a whale to catch, equals the weight of ten oxen. The eye is the size of a cow's eye, but the range of vision is very short. The auditory canal of the ear is hardly the diameter of a knitting needle. Whales live up to eight hundred years, and it is asserted that they sleep at the bottom of the ocean literally holding their breath. Imagine the weight of water over the whale when sounding to depths of 200 feet or more after being attacked or harpooned. Obviously the strength and the power of the whale are indescribable, as is recorded in many whale songs:

> "Oh, the rare old whale, 'mid storm and gale,
> In his ocean home will be
> A giant in might where might is right,
> And King of the boundless sea."

The reader who cherishes an intimate acquaintance with the adventure and business of the whale fishery with all its

dangers, drudgery, and horror is encouraged to read Frank T. Bullen's *The Cruise of the Cachalot round the world after Sperm Whales,* 1898. Of this book Rudyard Kipling wrote, "I've never read anything that equals it in its deep sea wonder and mystery." It is a vivid account of the cruise of a South Sea whaler from New Bedford by a seaman who at the age of eighteen, lonely and without money, is desperately hungry for a ship. Although the book is almost altogether fictitious, the reading is thrilling and excellently done.

The lookout on a New Bedford whaler shouts "Ah bl-o-o-o-o-w, blow, blow," but on a Nantucket whaler the lookout crys, "Thar-e-bl-o-o-ows", and the crew pulls to the refrain "a dead whale or a stove boat." "Give it to him," yells the mate, and like a flash the whale disappears under water running out the line; then the whale surfaces and races away dragging the boat at twenty to twenty-five miles per hour for "a Nantucket Sleigh Ride." Then the long strenuous row back to the ship, towing the whale by the flukes, and the tedious process of "cutting in" and "trying out." The ship from stem to stern is grimy and black with soot from her fires, from the smoke of burning scraps, and drenched with oil and blood from the flensing. The men are soaked in the evil smelling oil from head to foot. This was Hell on a large scale, and on and on it went until every cask was full and coopered if fortune served them well.

From time immemorial, even in the Bible (*Psalms* 107, 23-27), there is awe for the wonders of the deep:

> "They that go down to the sea in ships,
> That do business in great waters;
> These see the works of the Lord,
> And his wonders in the deep.
> For he commandeth and raiseth the
> Stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof.
> They mount up to the heavens, they go down
> again to the depths;
> Their soul is melted because of trouble.

They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wits' end."

The tragedies were numerous and diverse. Many of the whalemen were killed by whales. Several ships were lost with all hands. Many fell sick and died on ship, some from scurvy. Some met death from mutiny. Many experienced the most fearful privations. From the settlement of Nantucket in 1659 to 1853, a total of 168 vessels were lost, exclusive of captures by pirates, the French, British, and Spaniards. Four hundred and fourteen lives were lost. An old sailor was heard to remark, "Them as go down to the sea in ships see the wonders of the deep, but them as goes in schooners sees hell." We may well shudder at the crewman's diet of salt pork, potatoes, and hard tack. Is it any wonder that there were desertions from many whaleships!

The whalemen were courageous and brave to an unusual degree, and they were subject to the strictest discipline. In the journal of the voyage, for more than three years, of the whaleship Three Brothers by Charles P. Coffin we are furnished with a glimpse of the stern stuff the whaling captains were made of when we read that the captain knocked down a sailor and killed him one day and on the next day read the prayers of the burial service over him.

Chapter 31.

NOTABLE EVENTS IN THE WHALE FISHERY

Some of the significant events in the history of the whaling industry at Nantucket are as follows:

1722 Sloop commanded by Elisha Coffin lost with all hands. This is the first recorded loss of a whaling vessel belonging to Nantucket.

1730 Twenty-five whaling vessels owned at Nantucket.

1745 First cargo of sperm oil shipped directly to England from Nantucket.

1768 Eighty whaling vessels averaging 75 tons sailed from Nantucket, their voyages being to Davis Straits, Straits of Belle Isle, Grand Banks, Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to the Azores Islands.

1772 First sperm candle factory in operation. Ships Dartmouth, Eleanor, and Beaver left Nantucket with oil for England. The ships returned to Boston with tea which was thrown overboard in the famous Boston Tea Party in 1773. The Beaver was owned in Nantucket. The Dartmouth was the first whaleship launched at New Bedford.

1776 About one hundred and fifty vessels owned at Nantucket. Some of them large brigs.

1776-1782 About 1600 Nantucketers lost their lives during the Revolutionary War. Fifteen vessels lost at sea and one hundred and thirty-four captured by the British. Nantucket was the only American port to carry on whaling during the war.

1783 Ship Bedford, Captain William Mooers hoisted first American flag with its thirteen rebellious stripes in an English port (February 3). One of the crew was hunchbacked, and on shore one day a British sailor

clapped his hand on his shoulder and said, "Hello, Jack, what have you got here?"

"Bunker Hill and be damned to you", replied the Yankee.

Ship Washington, Captain George Bunker, was the first to hoist the American flag in a Spanish Pacific port.

1786-1787 British Government lured many of the Nantucketers to pursue the whale fishery from Nova Scotia and England. Many families and vessels removed to Dartmouth adjoining Halifax, Nova Scotia, and to Milford Haven, England. Others removed to London, and Dunkirk, France. The removals deprived the island of much capital and skilled whalemen. None of the undertakings was long lived, and by 1794 most of the ships had returned.

1791 Ship Beaver, Captain Paul Worth, was the first Nantucket whaler to double Cape Horn. New Bedford shows increasing activity in the whale fishery.

1802 The whaler "Rose", the first whaleship built at Nantucket. Three other whalers and a large schooner were the only large vessels built at Nantucket. Whaling fleet comprised forty-eight ships.

1807 Ship Union, Captain Edmund Gardner, struck a whale. Crew voyaged 600 miles in boats reaching the Azores after seven days and eight nights.

1808 On February 6 the sailing vessel Topaz, Captain Mayhew Folger of Nantucket (husband of Mary Joy), sailing out of Boston and calling at Pitcairn's Island in the South Pacific discovered on this supposedly uninhabited land many middle-aged Polynesian women, a score of beautiful children ruled by a white haired Englishman, Alexander Smith, the only survivor of fifteen men, nine of them English seamen involved in the famous mutiny of His Majesty's armed transport Bounty, Captain William

Bligh. In the collections of the Nantucket Historical Association is deposited the valuable log book of the ship Topaz dated 1808 mentioning the discovery of the rendezvous of the perpetrators of the mutiny of the Bounty on Pitcairn Island.

1812-1813 Seventeen ships and seven schooners sailed. Eleven captured by the British in the War of 1812-1815. Nantucket was the only American port during the war that sent out whalers to dare the risks of British capture.

1818 Captain George W. Gardner in ship Globe discovered off shore whaling grounds bordering the coast of Chile, South America.

1819 Captain Joseph Allen in ship Maro discovered Japan Whaling Grounds. The British claim that the Coast of Japan Ground was first cruised by the London whaleship Syren in 1819.

1820 Ship Essex, Captain George Pollard was sunk by an angry whale in the Pacific. Crew suffered fearful privations in open boats for three months, sailing 2,000 miles before rescue. Captain Pollard, first mate, and three of the crew of twenty survived. Seventy-two whaleships owned at Nantucket.

1821 Captain Christopher Burdick on a sealing voyage to the South Shetland Islands in the schooner Huntress discovered on February 15 a high mountainous land mass, the mainland of the Antartic Peninsula which Burdick in his log book called a continent. This is the first discovery and recognition of the Antartic Continent.

1823 Most fearful mutiny in the whale fishery on ship Globe. Captain Thomas Worth and three officers killed. Ship returned to Nantucket November 14, 1824.

1824 Ship Oeno, Captain Samuel Riddell, lost on the Fiji

Islands. All of her crew save William S. Cary were murdered and eaten by cannibals.

1828 Sixty whaling vessels averaging 337 tons owned at Nantucket.

1830 Ship Sarah, Captain Frederick Arthur, out two years and eleven months, brought 3,497 barrels of sperm oil valued at $98,000, the largest amount of sperm oil ever brought into Nantucket on one voyage.

1842 Eighty-six whaleships and four smaller vessels owned at Nantucket. Floating docks or "Camels" were launched to bring ships over the Nantucket Bar into the harbor and to dispense with the practice of lightering outside of the Bar or at Edgartown. Ship Constitution, Captain Obed R. Bunker, was taken out over the bar by a "Camel." Ship Peru, Captain Joshua Coffin was brought in over bar by a "Camel" with 1340 barrels of sperm oil.

1843-45 Peak year in whaling. Eighty-eight ships out of Nantucket.

1846 Decline of the Nantucket whale fishery. Only seven ships fitted out and only three made successful voyages. New Bedford cleared sixty-nine vessels.

1849 Incoming whaler Martha the last to be brought over bar by a "Camel." Entire crew of ship Maria, Captain George A. Coffin, deserted in California.

1868 Barque R. L. Barstow was the last Nantucket owned whaleship to leave Nantucket. Sold in 1873 in Peru, South America.

1869 Barque Oak, Nantucket's last whaler. Left Nantucket November 16, 1869. Sold at Panama.

1870 Brig Eunice H. Adams, last whaler to arrive at Nantucket.

Chapter 32.

EMIGRATIONS FROM NANTUCKET

The forefathers came in search of enterprise and a plain harmonious society. In a later generation the same desire for opportunity and good fortune fostered emigrations of entire families from the island. The limitations of fortune and opportunity on the island with frequent privation and heavy material losses as the result of wars with Great Britain and later the decline of the whale fishery created the initiative to emigrate. The first emigrations were attempts to duplicate Nantucket's whale fishery and prosperity in seaports more advantageous to the industry with respect to the building of ships, accessibility to markets, and freedom from the adversities and losses imposed by isolation and war.

Soon after the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia numerous families, as early as 1761, settled in Barrington, Nova Scotia, but by 1784 most of the Nantucketers had moved elsewhere. In 1786-1787 another group from Nantucket eager to sell oil to England and to avoid the prohibitive duty of $80.00 a ton imposed by England on American oil settled in Dartmouth, a place on the shore opposite Halifax, Nova Scotia, but the effort to develop the whale fishery here was short lived.

The British were anxious to establish the industry in England. Milford Haven, Wales, a site on the west coast of England was selected, and inducements were offered to the whalemen to settle here. Many of the families came from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, among them Timothy Folger, who later held the post of American consul at Milford Haven. He died at Milford Haven in 1814 and like numerous others never saw Nantucket again after emigrating.

After the Revolutionary War the American market was glutted with oil and candles. Oil was selling at a loss of eight pounds sterling each ton. With a heavy duty imposed by England on foreign oil the American whalemen were faced with ruin. It was necessary for the ship owners to transfer their industry to foreign ports. William Rotch of Nantucket, born in 1734, accompanied by his wife and daughters with his son Benjamin, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth and son, sailed for England July 4, 1785, to negotiate for a port in England. Previously Captain Shubael Gardner, husband of Judith Barker, and family removed to Dunkirk, France. The French offered an attractive price for oil and a bounty on oil to ships sailing from French ports.

Rotch sought to settle his whaling business in Falmouth, England, but acceptable terms from the British Prime Minister William Pitt and Lord Hawkesbury were not obtainable, and he went to France, where twelve proposals or advantages to the people of Nantucket to settle and carry on the business at Dunkirk were successfully negotiated with the Prime Minister of France, Count de Vergennes. It was agreed that:

1 American whalemen would not bear arms.
2 They would enjoy complete religious freedom.
3 Whaling products and food supplies would be duty-free.
4 They would enjoy all the privileges of native fishermen.
5 They would have the right to command their own ships and choose their own crews .
6 Oil brought in foreign ships would be subject to heavy duties.

With these proposals secured, Rotch sailed home in 1786 to transfer his business to France, and upwards of nine Nantucket families or sixty persons, all Friends moved to Dunkirk, France. Over seventy ships commanded by Nan-

tucket captains called at Dunkirk. But the bloody state of affairs in France coming with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the War with Austria and Prussia (April 1792), the execution of King Louis XVI of France and Queen Marie Antoinette (1793), and the growth of disunion and revolution caused William Rotch in his 60th year (1794) and most of the whalemen to move away to Milford Haven; others more directly to Nantucket. Rotch in 1795 removed to New Bedford, where he remained until his death in 1828 at the age of 94. Here his father, Joseph, carried on the business from 1765-1778 until the catastrophes by the British associated with the Revolutionary War required him to return to Nantucket. Captain Shubael Gardner, the first whaleman to ship out of Dunkirk, was drowned off the English coast in 1791. His wife Judith died in Nantucket in 1822. Benjamin Rotch decided to remain in England, where he established a whaling business at Milford Haven amongst other Tory exiles from Nantucket with the same distrust for independence and the desire to remain British. Benjamin Rotch died in London in 1839, and his wife Elizabeth Barker died there in 1853 at the age of 94. Two of their six children were born in Dunkirk and three of them in England.

A series of emigrations to Hudson, New York occured in 1783-1800. The enterprise originated with Thomas Jenkins, a Nantucketer and resident of Providence, Rhode Island. In 1783 he formed an association of thirty members, merchants, and shipowners. Cotton Gelston of Providence came to Nantucket to sign the families to join. Fifteen families from Nantucket joined, and others came from Martha's Vineyard, Newport, and Providence. The original settlement bore the name Claverack Landing, which on November 14, 1784, became Hudson. Stephen Paddock led the group from Nantucket and he and Thomas Jenkins were prominent in the growth of the settlement. By 1786 some twenty-five vessels came to Hudson from Nantucket, and

the first ship, Hudson, Captain Robert Folger was launched in 1786. The place became an important whaling port. Other families came from Nantucket and settled at Poughkeepsie and *Nine Partners*. Here Lucretia Mott, a famous Nantucket daughter, received her schooling under the discipline of the Society of Friends.

The Hudson settlers copied "Mother" Nantucket in almost every way. They adopted the lean-to house with walks or lookouts on the roof. The mansions of the wealthy were models of the mansions on Main Street in Nantucket. Many of the streets were named after Nantucket streets, and their Meeting House on Union Street was almost a copy of the Nantucket Meeting House on Fair Street. The prosperity of Hudson during the first twenty years of its existence was amazing, even outranking Nantucket as a whaling port. The American Hero, Captain Solomon Bunker, a Hudson ship, in 1797 brought the largest cargo of sperm oil into an American port and the Ajax, Captain Zephaniah Coffin, broke the record in sealing. Prosperity from whaling was short lived, and various events brought on the end, notably the birth of the steamboat and the War of 1812. The first families dispersed and most of them moved west.

New Garden, now Guilford, North Carolina, was selected as a site for a Friends Meeting for Friends from all parts of the colonies, and the first New Garden Meeting was set up in 1754. The Nantucketers began coming in 1771-1772. Similar settlements were established around the townships of Center and Deep River. New Garden Friends Boarding School for Boys and Girls, now Guilford College, is situated between Greensboro and Winston-Salem on the very site of the New Garden settlement. The original Friends Meeting and Burial Ground are adjacent to the college campus. Gravestones bear the familiar Nantucket names, Starbuck, Bunker, Coffin, Macy, and others. Here a more conservative Quaker society permitted stones ten inches high, and later

the restrictions were lifted. Many of the families have remained true to the Quaker faith preserving the best of the spirit and quality of early Quakerism without the rigid discipline and forms of the Nantucketers. Here the Siamese twins, born in Siam in 1816, assumed the name of Bunker. The twins died in 1874 and are buried at Mt. Airy in adjoining Surry County.

Many of the North Carolina Nantucketers around 1800 moved into Tennessee, settling in Blount and Jefferson counties near Knoxville. Friendsville or Friends Station was the site of a Friends Meeting. Around 1815 some of the families moved further into Union, Fayette, Rush, and Wayne Counties, Indiana, and from there into Ohio and Illinois. Abigail Macy, who came to North Carolina from Nantucket in 1774, married Benjamin Stanton of Beaufort, North Carolina. Subsequently they moved to Jefferson County, Ohio. Here their grandson Edwin M. Stanton, the great Secretary of War in President Lincoln's cabinet, was born in 1814.

The slavery question had much to do with the emigrations into the free-soil states. The Indiana Quakers were active in the abolition movement. Levi Coffin came to Newport, Indiana, in 1826 and assisted hundreds of slaves to cross the free soil border to freedom.

The village of Nantucket, Indiana, now Economy, was settled at the turn of the century by Barnards, Coffins, Macys, Swains, and Starbucks. They were emigrants from North Carolina. The town has a "Tucket Burial Ground," and all the old names are to be found on the stones. Nearby Richmond is a leading center of Quakerism in America.

With the outbreak of the War of 1812, some of the Nantucket Folgers went by covered wagon to Cincinnati, Ohio, then the "Queen City of the West" and the Swains, Gardners, Macys', and others followed. There is a Society of Sons and Daughters of Nantucket at Alliance, Ohio, whose membership is restricted to the descendants of Nantucket resi-

dents prior to 1750. In 1844-45 a colony of Nantucketers moved to Ravenna, Ohio, and engaged in farming. A Friends Meeting was organized in Salem, Indiana, in 1819 by Nantucket descendants "to cherish the memory and emulate the example of the pioneers of Nantucket who established and maintained a commonwealth when there was no other in New England." At Indianaoplis the descendants have a group called "The Descendants of Nantucket who trace Ancestry through North Carolina Emigrés." There are records of families that moved to Auburn, New York around the year 1835 and to Vassalboro and Kennebec, Maine.

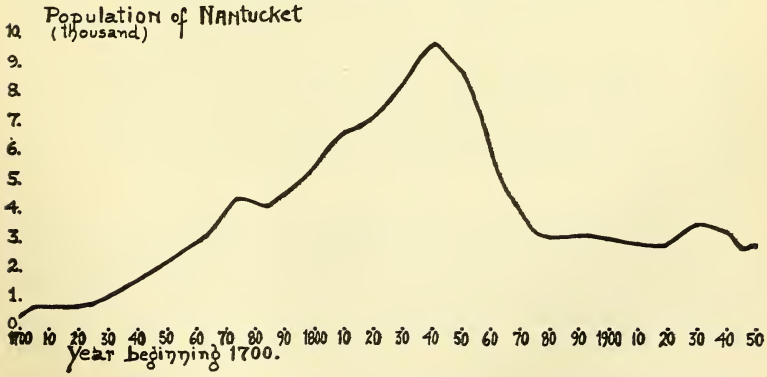
In 1849 came the exciting news of the discovery of gold in California. Nantucket became greatly excited. Everybody became possessed with the urge to go to the land of gold. Nine vessels sailed from Nantucket in that year for California. Hundreds left for the gold fields, and it seemed as if the California fever would depopulate the island. Before long some came back with a little "dust", poorer than they left; and the fever subsided.

A premonition of a despairing and hopeless future hung like a mist over the island. But before the decline began attempts were made to establish new industries, a notable example being the fabrication of silk garments. This was a New England enterprise which developed into an epidemic in the period from 1830-1840, and the contagion called "Morus multicaulis fever" struck Nantucket in 1835. Aaron Mitchell had a grove of 4000 mulberry trees outside of town, and George Easton had one of 1,000 trees on North Water Street. The Atlantic Silk Company was organized and chartered in 1836, headed by Aaron Mitchell, its chief owner. A factory was erected, and the first silk goods were made in 1836. The mulberry trees did not thrive, the company became involved in a lawsuit, and it closed in 1840. The machinery was removed to the second story of Mitchell's ware-

house in the rear of his brick mansion at the corner of North Water and Sea Streets.

The weight of the machinery caused the building to collapse, and it went down in a cloud of dust. Then Mitchell's brick mansion was destroyed in the great fire of 1846. The "Morus multicaulis fever" and other attempts at enterprise declined and so did the population. Families were leaving in groups. A peak population of almost 10,000 people in in 1840 declined to about 3500 in 1880 when the emigrations subsided. Industry had departed. The emigrations merely symbolized the search for opportunity and livelihood by a people accustomed to hard work and frugal living. These lost tribes, the descendants of the forefathers, the Starbucks, Macys, Coffins, Husseys, Colemans, and all the rest are everywhere, and now and then they make a pilgrimage to "Mother" Nantucket to visit the historic places, to see the family heirlooms, and to review the familiar memories of the distant past.

Figure 7.
Population of Nantucket 1700—1950



Chapter 33.

THE DECLINE

The Nantucket Bar across the entrance to the harbor was an obstacle to the passage of ships of three hundred tons burden and it was the main cause of the downfall of the whaling industry before Fate's allotted time. At New Bedford the decline began in 1861. The Golden Age of whaling was between 1825 and 1860, and early during this period New Bedford assumed the lead. The daring Nantucketers who had taught others how and where to whale gave up the industry to more fortunately situated ports like New Bedford, which in particular owes its beginning and success in whaling to its proximity to Nantucket. "Lucem Diffundo" —"We diffuse light." This was the motto of New Bedford. It was the light of sperm candles and whale oil lamps.

The great Nantucket fire (1846) which left thirty-six acres in the heart of the town an indescribable scene of desolation, the California gold rush (1849), the Civil War (1861-1865) between the North and South, the introduction of lard oil, the ascendency of New Bedford in the whaling industry beginning from 1760 by Joseph Russell, all put together brought about the end. Important also was the increasing scarcity of whales and especially the discovery of methods of manufacturing illuminating oil from coal and petroleum.

Stevens, in his *Far Away Island,* (1936) wrote, "Somebody puttering around in a little shed in Waltham, Massachusetts, discovered a way of refining the earth oil of Pennsylvania into an illuminating oil that was both better and cheaper than sperm. How the whaler captains laughed when they heard that a petroleum had been found which might put whaling out of business." Starbuck, in his *History of*

Nantucket, (1924), referred to the discovery in a small sheet iron building on the banks of the Charles River in Waltham, known among the residents as the Tar Factory, but more properly The United States Chemical Manufacturing Company. There in this building Luther and William Atwood in 1854 produced commercially the first desirable burning oil from petroleum in the United States. It was far superior to coal oil distilled from coal by James Young in Scotland in 1850. Here in their shop in 1852, the Atwoods manufactured coup oil, the first desirable lubricating oil from coal tar in the United States and used for lubricating the machinery of the New England mills and railroad rolling stock. Truly this was a coup d'état. Their illuminating or kerosene oil was derived at first from petroleum pitch obtained from overflows at Petrolia, Canada. But the supply of pitch being limited, Luther Atwood turned to other bituminous and to Pennsylvania petroleum. The foremost place of Luther Atwood in the discovery and development of a desirable illuminating oil from coal and petroleum in the United States is described by Joshua Merrill* in a letter to Alexander Starbuck: "I consider Luther Atwood the father of the oil burning industry from coal and petroleum, and to Waltham belongs the honor of having him for a citizen from 1852-1854, and the plant from which the great industry subsequently developed."

Production of kerosene from coal was started in 1854 by the North American Kerosene Gaslight Company, Newton Creek, Long Island, on a patent secured by Dr. Abraham Gesner of Prince Edward Island in 1855. It was not a success. Benjamin Siller, professor of chemistry at Yale University in 1854, contributed to the technique of the fractional distillation of petroleum. Samuel Kier, a Pittsburgh druggist, in 1855 produced a lighting oil from petroleum by distillation. H. C. Ferris of New York City sponsored im-

* Superintendent, Downer Kerosene Oil Company, South Boston, Massachusetts.

provements in oil lamps. Much oil was found at Tarentum, Pennsylvania. In 1858, Luther Atwood and Joshua Merrill in the South Boston works applied the newly discovered methods of cracking to petroleum, and in the large scale production of illuminating oil inaugurated the most profitable event in the technology of bituminous. The industry expanded as crude oil became available. An adequate source of supply for distillation to meet the exorbitant demands for kerosene was met by Colonel Edwin L. Drake, who drilled the first petroleum well near Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. The oil gushed and there was no end to the supply. This was the start of commercial oil production in the United States. Kerosene became a staple article. "Thar blows" or "Ah bl-o-o-o-o-o-w, blow, blow" meant the discovery of a whale and the acquisition of a few hundred more barrels of sperm oil to help light the world. The same phrase came to mean a new gushing oil well had been tapped to produce light, heat, power, and wealth. Into countless homes kerosene brought a new form of illumination, causing the disappearance of the whale oil lamp and the tallow and beeswax candle.

Gloom came over the whaler captains and Nantucket. Drake's 25-barrel a day oil well and others that followed made the whale oil industry totter. It put out of business many companies producing kerosene from coal. The greater number of them had not more than fairly started, but some like the Downer Kerosene Oil Company converted to petroleum distillation.

The last whaleship sailed out of Nantucket in 1869. The last whalers arrived in 1870. The wharves which had long been the center of activity became silent except for the sound of the unending waves dashing against the rocky foundations. There wasn't enough business in Nantucket to keep the Pacific Bank on Main Street (erected in 1818) open more than two or three hours a day. The self-appointed town crier, who made his rounds blowing his horn and an-

nouncing the news, remained on duty but only as a relic of his former past and pretty much of a nuisance. One of the last, William D. Clark, followed his profession continuously for more than forty years until 1903 when illness incapacitated him for further service. He actually "blew his lungs away." Billy Clark was the life of Nantucket in his time and the only inhabitant who moved faster than a moderate walk.

"Her sounding wharves, which echoed the taps of the caulking mallet and the cooper, have become silent and have crumbled to ruin. The reverberations of her rumbling oil carts have died out like a summer breeze. Her sail lofts have disappeared, and her rope walks and great candle houses have been swept away, leaving not a vestige, save in memories of her children," (H. S. Wyer, *Sea-Girt Nantucket*, 1906). One Nantucketer familiar with the prosperity and busy years of the past and measurably annoyed at seeing his beloved island dwindle into obscurity wrote in 1872, "Here we are destined never to make our mark again as a strong people." Then, in 1882, Godfrey disturbed by the general apathy of the Nantucketers exclaimed, "Why sit idle mourning over glory departed. A little more apathy and Nantucket will become so dead as never to be awakened again. Make her a watering-place, make her a manufacturing town, make her an agricultural town, make her all three, but in Heaven's name make her something!"

Had these seafaring Nantucketers and killers of ocean leviathans plowed the Nantucket soil as they did the seven oceans, they might have prepared for their posterity an enduring agricultural and livestock industry, comparable to that of the Azores Islands, the Channel Islands, Long Island, Prince Edward Island, and other island outposts. To be sure, the soil in most of the island was barren and sterile. Other parts are as rich and fertile as the western prairie. Once these acres of waste land gave miserable support and shelter to flocks of starving sheep.

Whaling was a transient industry, a rich enterprise full of adventure. If the effort with some planning had been applied to the land, a thriving agricultural industry might have paralleled the whale fishery and endured to supplement the island's fame as a watering and summering place. Agriculture failed because the settlers were not farmers nor of the farming class. A Scandanavian or Mediterranean race of settlers would have succeeded or fared better.

Inspiration and enthusiasm with the support of capital may yet establish here a durable, profitable agricultural or horticultural enterprise. The culture of the cranberry, sheep raising, certified seed potato culture, and the growing of special drug, food, and ornamental plants represent some of the possibilities offered by the climate and variable soil types of Nantucket. In the fishing industry, the location of Nantucket, assisted by modern transport, would appear unsurpassed. Nantucket lacks initiative. It requires off-island support and ingenuity for the development of commercial enterprise. But Nantucket will always live and prosper on the heritage of its founders and makers and on its enviable geographic position as a summer watering place.

Chapter 34.

THE REDISCOVERY

Nantucket's oily days are past. No longer can it be called "a barren sandbank fertilized with whale oil only." Dismay and desolation visited the island. Families moved away. The wharves crumbled; grass and weeds grew in the streets. The future seemed sad. The "Little Gray Lady" in the sea with all its vanished glories was destined to become a ghost town. But in the seventies the coming of the summer people softened the decline. The ocean environment which led to the fishing and whaling industries saved the fortunes of the people who remained. Nantucket became a thriving summer resort. Here was an ideal health and vacation atmosphere as much out in the ocean as a vessel on her way to Europe.

Travelers, scientists, and authors became impressed with what they saw here. First, Crèvecoeur, then Obed Macy, Marsillac, Thoreau, Godfrey, Asa Gray and others. America was reading and discoursing about Nantucket. The descendants of the original settlers began coming to the island. The clan of Coffin, the descendants of "Ye Firste Chiefe Magistrate of Ye Island of Nantucket," held a big reunion in August 1881, and the Coffins came from everywhere on the continent. The island was rediscovered, this time as a delightful, peaceful, and healthful seaside summer and vacation resort. Now the "Scrap Islanders" live on strangers in the summer and on each other in the winter.

There is an immense literature on the botany of the island, notably by Grace Brown Gardner, Maria L. Owen, Alice Owen Albertson, Emil F. Guba, and Eugene Bicknell. Bicknell enumerated 1103 ferns and flowering plants. Guba enumerated 300 fungi. The first collection of Nantucket

plants, of which there is published record, was made by William Oakes of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1829. The moth and butterfly population of the island have been carefully worked by Charles W. Johnson, Frank M. Jones, and Charles P. Kimball. Over 987 Lepidopterous insects have been recorded. Up to 1945 scientists had compiled a list of forty-six distinct species of shells, and in 1949, Dwight Taylor, a 17 year old amateur from California, reported a mollusk lore of 120 species.

As regards other sciences, Nantucket can be proud of the Nantucket Maria Mitchell Association, the island's science center, organized to foster research and teaching, and to perpetuate the name of Maria Mitchell, America's first woman astronomer, professor of astronomy at Vassar College and an eminent Nantucketer. You must visit her homestead on Vestal Street, now the Memorial House of the Nantucket Maria Mitchell Association. The annual reports describe the activities of the association and the progress of scientific studies. The native population can be proud of the library facilities in natural history and astronomy. At the lectures you will see and hear many famous scientists who visit the island in the summer season, or you may want to spend an evening in the observatory studying the stars.

If you are interested in Nantucket history, you will want to become acquainted with the Nantucket Historical Association, which was organized on May 9, 1894, in the most westerly of three brick houses on Main Street, then the home of Elizabeth Starbuck. It was the Reverend Myron S. Dudley from Peru, Vermont, a "temerarious stranger" called to minister to the North Congregational Church in 1889 who, in 1893, conceived and fathered the organization of the association. He was its first vice president, and Dr. J. Sidney Mitchell of Chicago, its first president.

It is the Nantucket Historical Association which maintains the Museum in the Old Friends Schoolhouse on Fair Street which is full of relics of the island's history, and the

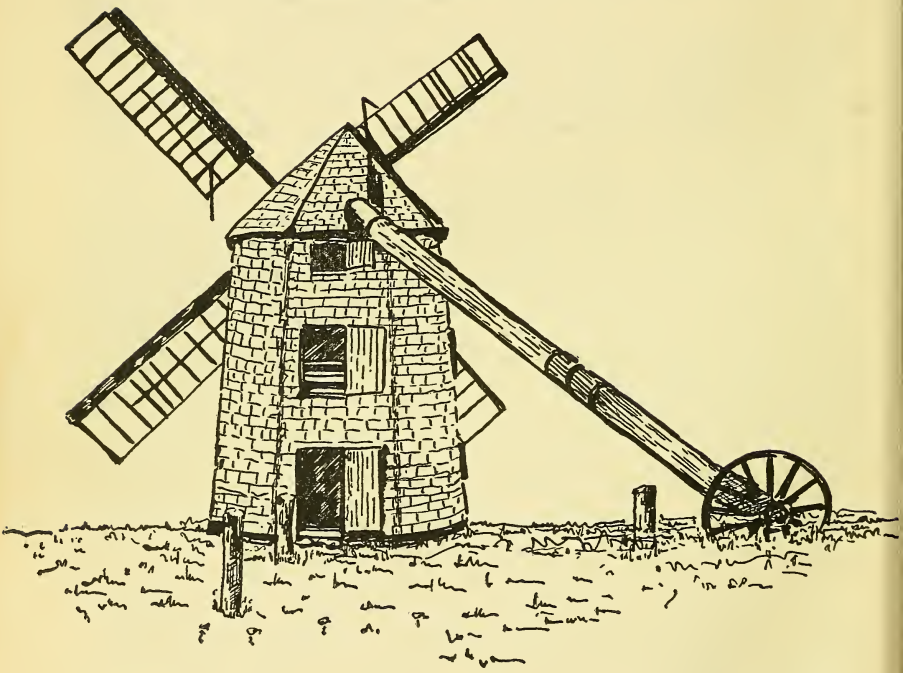
Whaling Museum on Broad Street, where an attendant will guide you through all the exhibits depicting the whaling industry. Other historic places under the jurisdiction of the society are the Jethro Coffin House, the oldest house on the island, situated on Sunset Hill; and the Old Mill off Pleasant Street, built in 1746 and the last of four similar mills. The old burial grounds will interest you: the Quaker Cemetery, Old North, New North, the ground for people of color, and Old South. The Nantucket Historical Association has an interest in all of them. Annual reports, dating from 1895, have been issued comprising the activities of the society, as well as excellent compositions on all aspects of the island's history. Many of the papers are literary and historical masterpieces.

A visit to the society's rooms on Fair Street and to the Whaling Museum on Broad Street will quickly reveal the wealth of historical material, probably unparalleled anywhere for its completeness. Here is to be seen a wax figure of the Dauphin taken from a cast of Louis Charles, Dauphin of France, second son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, brought to Nantucket from France in 1786 by Captain Jonathan Coffin who purchased it at a nunnery. Also here on display is a brick from the house in South Orrianna Street, Philadephia, where Benjamin Franklin lived and died and where he wrote his immortal autobiography. Obviously any relics pertaining to Dr. Franklin are welcomed here.

"Scrim-shont"* pieces by the whalemen are in abundance, and the most beautiful specimen of the art is a dressing case inlaid with 1900 small pieces of ivory and ebony made at sea by Captain James Archer in 1850 on the whaling barque Afton. A china coffee pot taken off island with the emigrations to Hudson in 1741 by Laban Paddock came back to its old home without its cover in 1898. From all these displays one will learn of the glory of the island's

* Skrimshander or scrimshaw, decorative articles made from shells and bone or teeth of the whale by sailors. Sometimes scrimshaun.

Figure 8.
Old mill on Mill Hill built in 1746.



past, the story of whale oil and sperm candles in all of its fascinating detail.

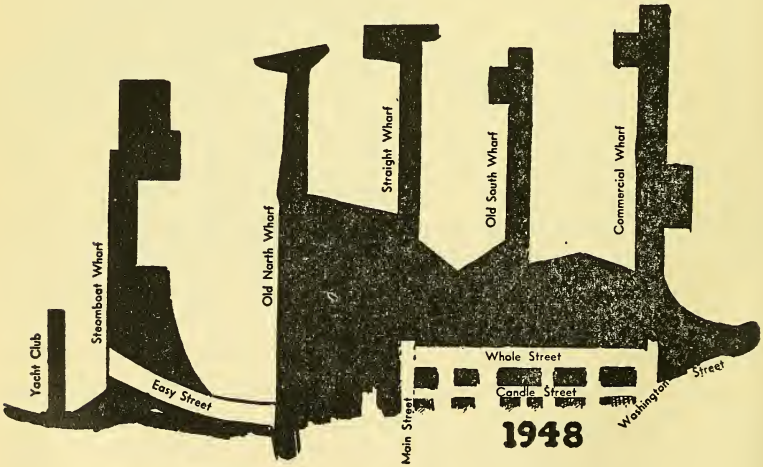
At the foot of Main Street sets the historic counting-house of William Rotch, Nantucket's greatest whaler at the close of the Revolutionary War; it is now known as the Pacific Club Building. In the prosperous days this brick building was jocularly called the "House of Commons."

Nearby, on the old North Wharf, is the general store of "Commodore" Herbert Coffin and also the meeting place of the Wharf Rat Club headed by the genial commodore. This club has no by-laws, regular meetings, or dues but does have a long waiting list of applicants. Its emblem is a white rat smoking a pipe on a blue background. Here politics and all of the important issues of the times are discussed. The club's motto is "No seats reserved for the mighty." In the summer time the arrival of a member rat on the island steamer is announced with a three gun salute from the club's miniature cannon.

The Old North Vestry in the rear of the North Congregational Church on Beacon Hill is the oldest house of worship on the island. You must see the Unitarian Church on Orange Street, from whose belfry comes the curfew and other hours of the day. The Admiral Isaac Coffin Lancasterian School was built for the schooling of the Coffin clan of Nantucketers by an off islander, Sir Isaac Coffin, admiral in the British Navy. The Athenaeum housing the library was completed and opened to the public February 1, 1847. The Nantucket Athenaeum was incorporated in 1834. The original building with its library, its historical documents and valuable museum collections was destroyed in the great fire of July 13, 1846. In the past century both library and museum featuring the whale fishery were maintained in the present building. The portraits of some of the island's prominent citizens and whaling masters, of Abram Quary, the last Indian, and other subjects will impress you.

Before you leave the island's metropolis, you should visit

the Old Gaol and the House of Correction and Industry on Vestral Street, formerly Jail Lane. Take a walk up Ray's Court from Main to Fair Streets. On the corner of Main Street and Ray's Court is a long lived and rather ugly looking sycamore tree, the oldest tree on the island. Nearby, on the north side of Main Street, Joseph Starbuck, whaling merchant, in 1837, built three handsome brick houses for his three sons, "The Three Bricks and Three Brothers" of Dr. Will Gardner. A walk up Stone Alley, east of Main Street between Orange and Union Streets, is thrilling. There are no scenes like these at home. Time has not changed and spoiled them on Nantucket.



Chapter 35.

OVER THE MOORS TO MADAKET

We leave the "Queen City" of the island and go out into the hinterland of the "commons" where in the olden days large flocks of sheep ranged, to provide the population with mutton and wool. Here you will encounter ponds of various sizes, and rolling moorlands, groves of scrub pine and an abundance of wild flowers, scotch broom, rose, dewberry, and golden rod. No language can express the beauty of the flowers. Truly this is the land of heart's desire, "a little world away from the world." You are amidst a bit of bonnie old Scotland's moorland or heathland. To those interested in the out of doors, there can be no more delightful way of spending part of a vacation than in making the acquaintance of new plants amid what has been called "a botanist's paradise." Nantucket in this respect is like a piece of New Jersey moved up the coast. On Nantucket you will find Nature in a rare mood. "All ye who would possess one fresh memory of unaccustomed enjoyment of Nature in a rare mood, fail not to go and do likewise." The wanderings over the moors are never to be forgotten.

We are headed for Madaket. As we leave the town we pass the old Quaker Cemetery at the corner of Grave Street, now Saratoga Street, and quite some distance beyond on the right of the road you will see the memorial fountain to Abiah Franklin, the famous mother of Dr. Benjamin. Here she came as a child to fetch water for the Folger household. Further on, looking south from the Madaket road, you will get a glimpse of the Elihu Coleman House, the sole remaining homestead of the original town of Sherburne.

This old house of 17th century architecture, fronting south, is situated a mile or more from town. This house

with its long north roof is an example of splendid workmanship and a tribute to the housebuilders of early Nantucket. Elihu Coleman put the best lumber into his house. Massive field stones support the huge sills on which the house rests and a huge chimney sets in the center. The fireplace in the summer kitchen projects into the room by six and one half feet and the one in the keeping room measures nine and one half feet across the front.

The wooden pegs that hold the timbers together are similar to those used in shipbuilding. Beneath the thick, hand weathered shingles are wide overlapping boards so layed to keep out wind and drafts. Some of the floor boards are twenty two inches wide. Paint was first used on Nantucket houses in 1740 but this house has never been painted and the weathered shingles have a beautiful gray appearance in the sunlight. The plaster on the inside walls, made from powdered sea shells, is still firm and intact. The doors have hand wrought H hinges and wood and string latches and are beautifully paneled with a cross. These "Christian Doors" are priceless relics of a by-gone age.

This was the home of Elihu Coleman and Jemima Barnard. They were married on October 6, 1720, or two years before the house was completed. Their family comprised eight children, one son and seven daughters. Elihu came from a family of ten children of John Coleman and Priscilla Starbuck, and all of them were staunch Friends. Elihu died January 14, 1789, and Jemima on December 25, 1779.

In the middle of the 19th century, a William Hosier acquired the house after the passing of the last Coleman occupant. In his desire to preserve it for posterity, Hosier deeded the house in 1897 to the Town of Nantucket and to its care, but the townspeople's interest in the preservation of the house was wanting and it became forlorn and deserted. In 1914 it was sold at auction for the ridiculous sum of $500 to Miss Annie Barker Folger who bought it to preserve it. It was sold again in 1919 to Mrs. Rose Ring Forbes

who attempted to restore it to its original charm and beauty. In 1939 the property was acquired by Elizabeth Hollister Frost, novelist, and her husband, Walter Dabney Blair, architect. The Quaker homestead forms the setting of Mrs. Blair's distinguished Nantucket novel *This Side of Land.* The Blairs have continued the restoration of the house and the preservation of its moorland setting.

To the north of the Madaket Road lies the Ancient or Forefathers Burial Ground, now marked by a pretentious monument. Just south is the head of Hummock Pond, the largest fresh water pond on the island. You pass the stone house of Charles P. Kimball. Either by traversing the Plains westward or by the north route through Trott's Hills you come upon Long Pond, a narrow body of water a mile and one third in length. Beyond is "Maddequet," the place where Thomas Macy and his family spent their first winter (1659) on the island. Here you might look for the Madaket Ditch, originally built jointly by the Indians and whites in 1665 as a fishing weir from Long Pond to the head of the creek at Madaket. The fishing rights in Long Pond and the Madaket Ditch were held by the Island Proprietary from 1665 to 1841 when they were ceded to the town of Nantucket. From Madaket one gets a fine view of Tuckernuck Island, meaning "loaf of bread" and the second island in size included in Nantucket County.

Chapter 36.

EAST TO SIASCONSET

Directly south of the capital town and at the head waters of Miacomet Pond is the site of an old Indian village and burial ground. Just east of the pond is the site of the historic sheep pens. Don't be surprised if you encounter a herd of deer or see some unusual bird.

East, out of Nantucket, the road takes you to Siasconset. Between the fifth and sixth milestones or forty rods beyond the fifth milestone and on the north side of the road you pass the site of Benjamin Tashma's wigwam. Tashma was the grandson of Sachem Autopscot and the last Indian chief on Nantucket. He was a school teacher and "cooutaumuchary." The stone which was his doorstep is now located at the entrance to the Fair Street building of the Nantucket Historical Association. He died in 1770. To the north is Gibb's Pond and Gibb's Swamp, the latter now a large cranberry bog. About three eighths mile east of Gibb's Pond is Split Rock, and one quarter mile further is the site of an old Indian Meeting House. We are now in the site of the old Indian village of Okorwaw (Occawa). Here, before 1700, Assassamoogh, or John Gibbs, Harvard College educated Indian preacher, ministered to the converted Indians for nearly twenty-five years. North of the village site are Macy's Hill and Altar Rock, ninety-one feet above sea level, and the highest point on the island. To the east is Folger's Hill, eighty-eight feet, and further east is Sankaty or Round Head, eighty-five feet above sea level.

Beyond the seventh milestone lies Siasconset, "The Patchwork Village," a fascinating, romantic place and formerly the summer resort for Nantucket's wealthy, a sort of bygone Newport, Rhode Island. The native Nantucketer believed

in loyalty to his own little country. He cared not to summer among "foreigners" on the continent. Here was the eastern terminus of the Nantucket Railroad running from Steamboat Wharf in Nantucket a distance of eight miles and a forty minute ride. The railroad was taken up in 1917 and shipped to France, but the roadbed is still recognizable here and there. The place is still quaint with old fishermen's houses, many now converted into snug little cottages. In 1775 the village comprised six fishermen's huts. In 1801 the village comprised thirty houses built in three rows. Now Siasconset is built up with many beautiful residences. Here the sea breezes are fresh and strong. The old houses are in little enclosures, two or three in a group with narrow cross lanes to provide protection against a general fire and access to and from the central town pump. In ye olden times the pump groaned and creaked all day, and here all of the news of this funny little village was transacted; who was to preach and what was lost and found. Here the ocean is something more than water, tide, and waves. Here you will see the power and the terror of the enraged sea. On the shoals one half mile off in the sea the waves, tide, and wind sometimes meet in fierce opposition. Northrup wrote a fine account of the rips and the roaring waves of Sconset (*Sconset Cottage Life,* 1881). Never had he seen anything that impressed him as much as this battle of waves and tides of "the rips." The beach below the village, known as Cod Fish Park, is dotted with squatter's shacks. Usually there is no undertow at Sconset. Beyond lie Spain, Bermuda, the Azores, and the West Indies. The place has no rival in New England.

Chapter 37.

QUIDNET, WAUWINET, POLPIS AND QUAISE

North of the village of Siasconset is Sankaty Head, from which towers the lighthouse. This is the most southeastern headland in New England. Here on the undulating moorland lies the Sankaty Golf Course. Further north on this quaint highway we pass the edge of Sachacha Pond, the second largest fresh water pond on the island, which, like most of the large ponds, is separated from the ocean by a narrow strip of sand. We come to the east-west highway. The eastern extremity of the highway stops at Quidnet, a small fishing village of a few houses on a hillside on the north shore of Sachacha Pond and bordering the ocean. Another easterly branch of the highway terminates at Wauwinet, a delightful, quiet summering place at the head of Nantucket Harbor and tucked away among a grove of Japanese pines. Beyond is the Haul-Over, a long, narrow stretch of sand separating the harbor from the ocean. The walk to Coskata Pond is quite too formidable for most people, and although I have made it several times I can recommend it only to the experienced hiker. Beyond is Great Point Light, a white stone tower in the most remote, inaccessible, and desolate place on the island. If you walk the Haul-Over to Coskata in the summer, as I have, you will be fascinated at the sight of an odd, purple, mushroom, the sandy *Laccaria*, growing in the shallow sand basins drained of salt water with the receding of the tide, and all around grows the sea lavender.

From Wauwinet we go west to the farming village of Polpis (divided or branched harbor) which was settled by the Swain family late in the 17th century. This village was the most prosperous and successful farming community on

the island and the longest in point of active history. It was also the site of numerous fulling mills which operated here in olden times. Here, bordering Polpis Harbor is the most productive and extensive farm land, designated Tisbury loam. Peat digging and salt making were carried on here. Near the head of the harbor is Eat-Fire Spring, a natural garden of plants and the source of the purest water on the island. Joseph Farnham (*Memories of My Boyhood Days in Nantucket,* 1915) vividly described the social and agricultural life of Polpis village in the middle of the 19th century, now a quiet little settlement.

While you are in Polpis, you must visit the Hidden Forest. There is nothing like it anywhere on Nantucket. Herman Melville, in the 14th chapter of his *Moby Dick,* implied that there were no trees on Nantucket and no shade. The people, he wrote, plant toadstools around their houses for a place to get in the shade in the summertime. No one takes turns sitting in the shade here. There are trees, groves, and forests, and the Hidden Forest with its odd, dwarfed beeches and slender tupelos is a wonder no visitor to Nantucket should fail to see.

South of Polpis is Spotsor, named after a chief of an Indian tribe living here and son-in-law of Nickanoose, chief of the Wauwinet possessions.

We leave Polpis and travel the highway westward through Quaise, meaning "the end or point," the site of the Quaise Asylum and the country seat of Miriam (Keziah) Coffin, the shrewdest business woman in the history of the island. From here she carried on an extensive commerce with New York when the British blockaded the rest of the island.

We are approaching Nantucket. We pass the institution for the aged and destitute, Our Island Home, and then following Orange Street to its end we are back on cobblestone Main Street. A ride over the cobbles is something to remember. This was State Street previous to 1835. In 1837 it was paved with cobblestones shipped from Gloucester.

Chapter 38.

JOURNEY'S END

Our story has come to an end. The next morning we board the steamship for home. Our boat passes around Brant Point, the site of seven different lighthouses. We steam out between the jetties into the ocean. Gradually we lose sight of the Wannacomet standpipe, and we pass Cross Rip Lightship. The boat docks at Oak Bluffs, Martha's Vineyard. The ship is crowded with passengers, all homeward bound. We cross Vineyard Sound and dock at Woods Hole, and alight again on continental United States. Again we resume our work amid the perturbations and strife of worldly life, never forgetting the beauty, the fascination, and the charm of that queenly sea-girt, far away island anchored in the ocean south of Cape Cod, 2100 miles west of the Azores Islands and 690 miles from Bermuda. Then we recite again and again Henry S. Wyer's "Song in Absence."

I thirst for a breath of the good salt air
Fresh-blown from the open sea,
And O, mine eyes are aching sair
For a "blink o' my ain countrie!"

For weary is the worldly strife
To a spirit sad and worn,
And lonesome is your city's life
To one who is Island born.

In dreams I fare to the old gray town,
And wander forth at will
To watch the reddening sun sink down
Far over the western hill.

On either side of the deep worn road
The sweet wild flowers I see;
All friendly-wise, from the moss-grown sod
Their faces look up to me;

Fair Autumn now her largess yields
Of aster and goldenrod,
And purpling all the wayside fields,
Gerardia's bell-flowers nod.

Like nectar now is the spicy air
From fragrant swamp weeds blown;
With breath of pines, and the perfume rare
Of marshlands newly mown.

Along the line of the distant shore
Sparkles the sapphire sea,
Where foamy breakers, with ceaseless roar,
Seem waving white hands to me.

O, changeful sea, with your beckoning wile,
You woo me in vain to-day,
For never again from this dreamful isle
Shall you win my heart away!

THE END

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